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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE REBELS IN CONGRESS.

[From a leading article in the *N. Y. Herald*, July 15:—another advocate of the scheme to get the Rebel delegation into Congress.]

THE New England Jacobin and radical agitators generally increase their threats at every stage of the development of their movements. They commenced by flattering the President; then pursued the plan of denouncing his policy of restoration, but asserted their intention to support him, until now, from Wendell Phillips down to the humblest follower, they threaten a Congressional repudiation of his policy unless he adopts their schemes for the government of the southern States. We had supposed that thirty years' agitation of the Slavery question would be sufficient to satisfy the ambition of any set of men, and that, now the institution of slavery is wiped out, and the rebellion which it instigated has been put down, we should hear no more from them. On the other hand, we now find them more zealous in their agitating work than ever. Unable to cajole, frighten or force the President into the approval of their crusade, *they now are resorting to the dodge of preventing the admission of southern representatives into Congress until their plans and schemes are adopted.* Their whole project, from its inception through every step, is disunion of the rankest kind. *If the people of the South comply with the requirements of the Constitution, cordially take the oath and return to their allegiance, Congress will be obliged to admit their representatives*, or the members will render themselves liable for violating their oaths to support the Constitution. A continuation of this crusade by the Jacobins may yet lead us to a war with New England. Already we hear rumors of the agriculturists of the West rallying under the idea that the Jacobins of New England are resuming their agitation for the purpose of keeping the country in such an unsettled condition that they can continue the protection to their manufacturing interests.

ANTAGONISM IN THE SOUTH.

From the N. Y. Times, July 11.

A CHARLESTON (S. C.) correspondent of a Boston paper writes "that the worst sign here (in Charleston) is the growth of a bitter and hostile spirit between blacks and whites—a gap opening between the races which it would seem, may at some time result seriously." The blame for this state of things is attributed by some to the whites, by others to the negroes, by others to Boston busybodies, who have gone South and stirred up animosities of race.

There is no doubt whatever that there is very great danger in the future to the blacks of the Southern States from the antagonism of the two races who inhabit them. In every respect the whites are the dominant race, and would remain so though the negroes had the ballot to-morrow.

Under these circumstances, or under any circumstances whatever, it is malignant and criminal on the part of anybody, and especially on the part of those who claim to be the exclusive advocates and admirers of the negro race, to stir up such feelings, or inaugurate such courses of action and policy, as will increase the growth of the "bitter and hostile spirit between the blacks and whites," which, we are told, is showing itself in the South. The negroes of the South, who were lately slaves, are very credulous, and can easily be made to believe that the whites are their enemies, and that everything they do, or attempt to do, with reference to the blacks, is done for the purpose of injuring them. They will be made thievish, if perpetually told that their late masters lived by plundering them; will be made indolent if daily told that their wages are too little; will become insolent if taught to be so: and will be transformed into a vast body of worthlessness, degradation, and wretchedness, unless they are taught the *duties* of their new position, and unless these duties are sternly enforced.

NEGROES, DOG-DAYS, AND WHITE SLAVERY.

From the Chicago Times, July 7.

So far as can be learned, the Fourth, with but rare exceptions, was celebrated by, for, or with reference to the African. It was his freedom which was rejoiced over, and not that of the nation. It was not so much the emancipation of the United States from colonial vassalage that awoke the enthusiasm of the people on Tuesday, as it was the emancipation of four millions of negroes. At the national capital the only observance of the day was by negroes; and in most other places the observance was on account of the negroes.

This is an afflicted nation. We agitated the negro for a score or more of years, and then fought over the negro for four years longer, and almost solely for the negro we spent two-thirds of our entire wealth as a people and sacrificed half a million lives. One would think that after we had done this much for the negro we are entitled to a respite. But there is none. To-day the negro is the one thing in every man's mouth from the gulf to the St. Lawrence. The entire press of the country is wrangling over the negro; Boston philanthropists are holding secret meetings and arranging plans with reference to the negro; and a chief justice of the United States Supreme Court has just concluded a lengthened tour among the negroes.

It is everywhere nigger. At the South masters are combining against the negro, and provost marshals are employed exclusively in issuing orders with reference to the negro. In the North the negro is in the pulpit, on the street cars, at the fireside. The New York *Tribune* has three articles per diem in favor of the negro, and one with reference to the white man; ditto, the imitators of the *Tribune* all over the country. The *Tribune* and the *Times* talk of the African, and the *World* and the *Herald* of the "nigger," and the same is true of all the other newspapers in the country. Orators are shouting about the negro; politicians are canvassing the future with reference to the negro; preachers are advocating higher law for the benefit of the negro; and, in short, the whole country—priests; newspapers; politicians, white, black, yellow; Fourth of July; Hail Columbia, and everything else—are "going it" exclusively on account of the negro.

Oh, wretched people that we are,—who will deliver us from the foul body, not of death, but of worse than death—of this African? The African inundates us. Inky floods pour over the nation and threaten us with another and a worse than Noachic cataclysm. The black deluge plows through our streets, pours along the national avenues, and encircles the altars of religion. The dog days are upon us, and so is the negro. The heat of the one and odor of the other stifle us. Sirius dominates in the sky, and we pant for breath; the Afrite dominates on earth, and the country is asphyxiated with unclean odors. In Chicago every breeze from the South comes laden with Bridgeport and the negro. Scanlon alough and the African commingle, and their effluvia falls upon the city like a hot blanket of stifling smells.

There is a chance in this country for philanthropy. There is a good opening for abolitions. It is to relieve twenty-eight millions of whites held in a cruel bondage by four million blacks. It is a bondage worse than that of Helotism. It is one which retards our growth, directs our thoughts, and absorbs our efforts. It drives us to war, it ruptures our government, it disturbs our tranquillity, and threatens direfully our future. There never was another such a race of slaves as we; there never was another people ground so completely in the dust as this nation. Our negro masters crack their whips over our legislators and our priests, and thus control our laws and our religion. They have established a tyranny over us worse than that of the Pisistratids.

It is time there was something done for these twenty eight millions of white slaves held in fetters by four millions of greasy, flat-footed Africans. Having labored and argued and legislated and fought for these our masters for many years, it is time that we should be emancipated and enjoy the fruits of our own labor. They have taken our time, our first-born, and our money freely, and it is no more than fair that we should be permitted to husband our blood and resources for our own use. Having first given them tribute to the amount of ten thousand millions of dollars, and over half a million lives, we are entitled to our freedom. We have earned it. We have paid the largest kind of a price, and it belongs to us. But we do not get it. The more we do for our sable masters, the more exacting are they in their demands.

We see no hope, and the future of the country is as black as the subject of this article. The negro wanted us to emancipate him, and we labored and legislated and fought to do his bidding. He now commands us to enfranchise him, and the work of obedience has already begun. After enfranchisement, will come a demand for social equality, and after that the millennium, as understood by Tilton, abolitionists, niggers, and miscegenationists.

Selections.

THE FANEUIL HALL ADDRESS.

THE following are the most important portions of the address which was prepared in conformity to a resolution adopted at the meeting in Faneuil Hall on the 21st ult.:

To the People of the United States:

* * * * * * * * *

In the course of a war of four years, for the restoration of the Republic, we must not forget that not one place surrendered from political considerations. There were individual deserters, but not a regiment laid down its arms from motives of returning loyalty. They fought to the last—as bitterly at last as ever—and were surrendered by their commanders only when there was no other resource. It was by force, that their government was broken down. It is by force, that the territory they held is now in our military occupation. They admit themselves overpowered by superior numbers and material resources, but we are not aware that the admission extends any farther. Military organizations against the Republic are not practicable; but they are seeking to open, and with the least possible delay, the avenues to their old fields of political contest and ascendancy. They will endeavor to save all they can of the doctrine of State Supremacy for future use. In the permission for the return of the Rebel Legislature to Richmond, and in the Sherman-Johnson pacification, our government barely escaped a serious, if not a fatal political defeat, at the hands of a vanquished enemy. The purpose of the South now is to resume the exercise of State functions with the utmost possible speed, and with the least possible change in their home systems. To secure that, they will do and submit to whatever is necessary. It must constantly be borne in mind that when once a State is admitted to its place, the power of the nation over all subjects of State cognizance is gone. If the dogma of State Supremacy is not destroyed, for practice as well as in theory, the war will have been in vain. It has not only been the favorite weapon of slavery, but has been eagerly caught up by the enemies of our institutions in Europe,—the tenet that the United States is not a nation, a government, a sovereignty,—that the citizens owe to it no direct allegiance,—that they cannot commit against it the crime of treason, if they carry with them into their treason the forms of State authority. The right of this republic to be a sovereign, among the sovereignties of the earth, must be put beyond future dispute, abroad as well as at home. We have paid the fearful price, and we must not be defrauded of the results.

Let us now, fellow-citizens, look at the dangers which attend an immediate restoration of the rebel States to the exercise of full State authority. Slavery is the law of every rebel State. In some of these States free persons of color are not permitted to reside; in none of them have they the right to testify in court, or to be educated, in few of them to hold land, and in all of them they are totally disfranchised. But far beyond the letter of the law, the spirit of the people and the habits of generations are such as to insure the permanence of that state of things, in substance. If slavery should be abolished in form, their spirit and habits, their pride and passions, will lead them to uphold their oligarchal system, built upon a debased colored population, and intrenched behind State institutions, over which the nation cannot pass in peace. Their personal relation with the colored people as masters over slaves being changed in law, they will look upon them in a new light, as a class to be feared, and as the cause of their defeat and humiliation. They will not tax themselves to give to the freedmen an education. They will not permit the continuance within their States of philanthropic agencies for colored people, from the free States. They will not encourage northern immigration, with systems of small freeholds and free labor; nor will capital and labor go there from the free States under present auspices. Returning to their old arts of politics, which they are fond of, and in which long practice has made them expert, they will seek to repudiate a debt incurred for the suppression of their revolt; nor can we shut our eyes to the danger of political combinations, to be ruled by this oligarchy and to do its work. It is useless to suggest or conjecture methods and means; the spirit and motive will take such forms as occasions may require.

We trust it cannot be necessary to pause here and refute a political fallacy, which the logic of events has already exposed. It has been contended that, forcible resistance having ceased, the rebel States are, by that fact, again in their orbits, and in the rightful possession and exercise of all their functions as States, in local and national affairs, just as if no war had taken place—that the nation, whether by Congress or the Executive, has no option to exercise, no powers or rights to enforce, no conditions that it can make. We trust that the mere statement of this proposition, in the light of the circumstances in which we stand, is a sufficient refutation. We are holding the rebel country in military occupation, and the nation is asserting a right, before it yields that occupation, to see the public safety secured, and the public faith preserved. The only question can be as to the mode of obtaining this result. We trust all loyal people of the land will have no hesitation in standing by the President, with clear convictions, as well as strong purpose, on this issue. By necessity, the Republic must hold and exercise some control over these regions and people until the States are restored to their full functions as States, in National as well as State affairs. This authority is to be exercised by the President or by Congress, or both, according to the nature of each case. Though resulting, necessarily, from the fact of the war, these powers are not necessarily to be exercised by military persons or in military forms. This temporary, provisional authority, although supreme for the time, may be exercised, much of it, by civil officers, using the methods of civil power, and admitting the employment of judicial and executive functions, with the arts and business and social intercourse of life. This we understand to be, in substance, the position which the Government now occupies, and we believe the people recognize it to be of necessity and of right.

Let us now, fellow-citizens, turn our attention to our rights and duties. Having succeeded in this war, and holding the rebel States in our military occupation, it is *is our right and duty to secure whatever the public safety and the public faith require.*

First. The principle must be put beyond all question, that the Republic has a direct claim upon the allegiance of every citizen, from which no State can absolve him, and to his obedience to the laws of the Republic, "anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

Second. The public faith is pledged to every person of color in the rebel states, to secure to them and their posterity forever a complete and veritable freedom. Having promised them this freedom, received their aid on the faith of this promise, and, by a successful war and actual military occupation of the country, having obtained the power to secure the result, we are dishonored if we fail to make it good to them.

Third. The system of slavery must be abolished and prohibited by paramount and irreversible law. Throughout the rebel States, there must be, in the words of Webster, "impressed upon the soil itself an inability to bear up any but free men."

Fourth. The systems of the States must be truly "republican."

Unless these points are secured, the public faith will be broken, and there will be no safety for the public peace or the preservation of our institutions.

It must be remembered that, under the Constitution, most of these subjects are entirely matters of State jurisdiction. Once withdraw the powers of war, and admit a State to its full functions, and the authority of the nation over these subjects is gone. It is a State function to determine who shall hold land, who shall testify in State courts, who shall be educated, and how, who shall labor, and how, and under what contracts or obligations and how enforced, and who shall vote in national as well as in State elections. We have already said that all these points now stand in the constitutions and laws of the rebel States decided against the freedmen. Action is necessary to put them right. So great a change is, no doubt, fundamental, and goes to the bottom of their social and political system. If it is not made now, before civil society becomes settled, before the States are restored to the exercise of all their powers, it will never be made, in all human probability, by peaceful means.

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We do not ask that the nation shall insist on an unconditioned, universal suffrage. We admit that States determine for themselves the principles upon which they will act, in the restrictions and conditions they place upon suffrage. All the States make restrictions of age, sex, and residence, and often annex other conditions operating in substance equally upon all, and reasonably attainable by all. Those matters lie within the region of advice from neighbors, and not of national authority. We speak only to the point where the national authority comes in. We cannot require the rebel States, if we treat them as States, to adopt a sytem, for the sole reason that we think it right. Of that, each State, acting as a State, must be the judge. But in the situation in which the States now are, the nation can insist upon what is necessary to public safety and peace. And we declare it to be our belief that if the nation admits a rebel State to its full functions with a constitution which does not secure to the freedmen the right of suffrage in such manner as to be impartial and not based in principle upon color, and as to be reasonably attainable by intelligence and character, and which does not place in their hands a substantial power to defend their rights as citizens at the ballot-box, with the right to be educated, to acquire homesteads and to testify in courts, the nation will be recreant to its duty to itself and to them; and will incur and deserve to incur the danger and reproach proportioned to the magnitude of its responsibility.

It should not be forgotten that, slavery being abolished, and therewith the three-fifths rule of the Constitution, nearly two millions will be added to the Representative population of the slave States in the apportionment for members of Congress and of votes in Presidential elections, and that this increase of political power to the rebel States must be at the expense of the free States. If the freedmen remain, as they now are, disfranchised, this increased power will be wielded by a class of voters smaller in proportion than before. This furnishes an additional temptation to that class to retain it in their hands; and we shall be compelled to meet, as heretofore, the old spirit, not improved by its recent experience, and largely increased in its political power.

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But the nation has a deep interest in the freedmen, by themselves considered. The Republic must choose to-day between two results. The millions of people of color in the South, no small part of them carrying the best white blood in their veins, must be either an educated, industrious, landholding, arms-bearing, taxpaying, voting, self-protecting population; or an untaught, indolent, objectless, disfranchised, helpless and debased population—the substratum of a proud, restless, unrepublican, political and social aristocracy. The President has undertaken, in certain of the rebel States, an experiment for speedy restoration. Recognizing the general policy and duty of restoration as soon as practicable, the experiment commands our earnest wishes for its success. By its success we mean—not the return of the States to their position: that they are only too ready to do; but their return with constitutions in which the public safety and public faith shall be secured. We cannot conceal our apprehensions that the experiment will fail. But let not the Republic fail! The more recent signs are that the spirit which caused the war is preparing to fight over politically the ground it has lost in battle. This ought not to surprise us. Let no haste to restore a State, no fear of rebel dissatisfaction, lead the Republic to compromise its safety or its honor!

During the progress towards restoration, the nation holds the States in military occupation, by powers resulting necessarily from successful war. This hold upon them is to be continued until this or some other experiment does succeed. We need not be precipitate. The present authority, although resulting from war, may, as we have said, be largely exercised by civil methods and civil functionaries, and be accompanied with the enjoyment of many civil rights and local municipal institutions, executive and judicial. If the present experiment fails, we may try the experiment of building by the people from the foundation, by means of municipal institutions of towns and counties, with the aid of education, commerce and immigration, a new spirit being infused, and the people becoming accommodated to their new relations, and so advance gradually to complete restoration.

This is but one suggestion. Various methods are open to us. Only let it be understood, that there is no point at which the rebels can defy, politically, any more than they could in war, the authority of the Republic. The end the nation has in view is the same as that for which the war was accepted and prosecuted—the restoration of the States to their legitimate relations with the republic. The condition of things calls for no limitations of time or methods. By whatever course of reasoning it may be reached, upon whatever doctrine of public law it may rest, however long may be the interval of waiting, and whatever may be the process resorted to, the friends and enemies of the Republic should alike understand, that it has the powers and will use the means to ensure a final restoration of the States, with constitutions which are republican, and with provisions that shall secure the public safety and the public faith.

Boston, June 21, 1865.

RICHARD H. DANA, JR.,
THEOPHILUS PARSONS,
CHARLES G. LORING,
JOHN G. WHITTIER,
JACOB M. MANNING,
SAMUEL G. HOWE,
GEORGE L. STEARNS,
WILLIAM ENDICOTT, JR.
} Committee to prepare the Address.

TROUBLE FEARED IN RICHMOND.

From the Chicago Tribune, July 8.

DID we read with surprise, that on the 3d day of July the police force of Richmond was doubled for fear of an insurrection on the part of the negroes? Did we wonder that those who had peacefully worn their chains without resistance, since Nat Turner was hung, were accused of plotting an outbreak now that they had been proclaimed free? No, we did not. For the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln has, as rapidly as possible, been falsified, and the negroes know it. Their old masters are coming back into power, without any guaranty to them against that power being used to practically reenslave the blacks. These masters had never promised them freedom—hence had not been guilty of perfidy in withholding it. The slaveholders never called on them to fight side by side with them, in battle, in defence of a common flag and country, and therefore never betrayed the hand that dropped the musket by denying it the ballot. Thus far the local Government of Virginia threatens to do both. Hence guards are doubled, and insurrections feared from those who, during the war, have waited to see the salvation of the Lord, or have, in an orderly and soldierly manner, contended for their liberty and our Union. How long shall we go on doubling the police and fearing insurrections, yet denying the remedy to the blacks which, if conferred, would render such dangers and such precautions alike unnecessary?

AN APPEAL TO CONSERVATIVES NORTH AND SOUTH.

From the N. Y. Tribune, July 10.

THE pressing, overshadowing need of our whole country is PEACE—not a mere cessation of wasting, burning, killing, but a hearty accord between diverse sections and classes, and content in the heart of our people. Impoverished and heavily burdened by four years of most destructive exhausting War, we need the devotion of all our intellect and energies, our mind and muscle, to repairing, rebuilding, planting, tilling, and the creation of all kinds of material wealth. It is too late to grow much except Food this year; but we ought next year to produce more Cotton, Rice, Sugar, and Naval Stores, as well as more wheat, Corn, Cheese, Butter, Pork, etc., etc,, than ever before. To this end, we need to close up the sterile agitations and soothe to rest the political passions which so recently plunged us into the abyss of Civil War. We need a comprehensive adjustment of our late differences, which shall encourage every inhabitant of our country to work and earn and save in the assured conviction that his right to the fruits of his industry is perfectly secured—that there is none to molest or make him afraid.

Yet to-day grave disabilities and penalties impend over a large portion of the southern Whites, because of their complicity in the late Rebellion; while the Blacks without exception, with their right even to themselves but partially, reluctantly admitted, are about to pass afresh under the dominion of laws and authorities which regard them as inferiors and dependants of the more fortunate race, by whom they are to be governed, judged and employed. Up to this hour, there is no Southern State in which they are, or seem likely to be, allowed any voice in framing or executing the laws which they are required to obey, and on which all their rights of person and property must depend. Even in *loyal* Free Tennessee, their testimony against Whites is not admitted in the Courts; their children are excluded from the only common schools that are provided; and those children may be torn from them and bound out to White taskmasters without a semblance of justice or reason. If a people so situated are free, then our fathers lied egregiously when they charged George III. with depriving them of their liberties.

The Blacks are to-day Four Millions of our people. Torn from their ancestral homes by violence, brought hither by Whites exclusively, they have resolved to abide in the land of their birth, which their toil and sweat have done so much to subdue and enrich. They are too many to be exiled, and they will not voluntarily go. Shall they remain as freemen or as serfs? Shall they have a voice in the Government? or shall they be governed wholly by others? What have they ever done or said that proves them less fit for or less worthy of the ballot than are those by whom they were hunted through the streets of our city in July, 1863?

Do you urge that they are ignorant? If no other ignorant persons were enfranchised, that might be a plausible objection. Neither they nor any one for them asks that they be exempt from any restriction whereby *White* ignorance, vagrancy or vice, is excluded from the electoral body. Say that *all* voters must read—that they must pay a tax, or possess some property—and we are content, so that you do not throw obstacles in the way of their acquiring the intelligence or substance you thus prescribe. All that is asked for them is free and fair Opportunity.

But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that, in the great struggle just ended, the Blacks have been loyal to the Union—that they have done what they could for the National cause—that more than Two Hundred Thousand of them have shouldered arms in its behalf. Had they thus ranged themselves on the other side, it is not possible that their late masters would now insist on their exclusion from political rights. If they shall now be excluded, it will be because they have prayed and hoped, have struggled and fought, for the Union. It would seem that the coarsest and commonest sense of decency would constrain White Unionists to insist that they should not be thus punished for opposing the Rebellion.

There are two or three States in which the Blacks are a majority of the entire people—are nearly or quite nearly all the People who have not willingly given aid and comfort to the Rebellion. In still other States, they are a majority of the adult males. In all the South, they are a large third of the People living to-day. They are to be represented in Congress (the House) by some twenty-five Members. Those Members, it is claimed, they shall have no voice in electing; they are to be chosen by the votes of Whites lately in revolt against the Union. In practice, every ex-Rebel in the South is to have two votes in Congress, while the great mass of the steadfastly loyal southerners are to have no votes at all. And this is called Reconstruction!

If a great engineer were required to throw a dam across the Niagara River just above the Falls, whereby to raise the level of Lake Erie six or eight feet, he would probably report that, with men enough, money enough, the job could be done. But ask him to guarantee that this dam should stand a thousand years, and he would probably tell you that the damming of so mighty a current was a stupendous undertaking—that such a volume of rushing water must ultimately prove irresistible—that its triumph was only a question of time.

Ask a Stephenson or Brunel to reproduce either of the Pyramids of Egypt, and he would only need to know that your purse was long enough—he could guarantee all the rest. But ask him to reverse one of those Pyramids—to present it poised on its apex instead of its base—and he must either be a very great genius or still greater fool who would make the attempt. And, even if he should evince the requisite hardihood, he would be bound to tell you that the very first earthquake would undo his achievement. The fundamental laws of the universe utterly refuse to be permanently set at defiance.

It is possible now to make a combination, North and South, strong enough to place the Blacks of the South under the heel of those who persist in believing—at least, in asserting—that God made them for slaves, and that slaves in some sort they must ever remain. There are politicians who see in this combination a strong probability of two or three Presidential triumphs—two or three four-year terms of victory and spoils. We do not urge that their calculation is mistaken. With "Down with Niggers and Nigger-worshipers!" as a party-cry, it is quite possible that a combination of Rebels, Copperheads, and drift-wood might be formed strong enough to carry the country. But look at its inevitable effects:

1. Four millions of Southern People, thoroughly and finally alienated from the governing class in their section, and looking solely to the North for their justice, protection, and the recognition of their manhood. Profoundly dissatisfied, apprehensive, unquiet, and possessed by a conviction that the Union fairly owed them the establishment and vindication of their rights as men and citizens, they would form a powerful element of Southern society, but neither quiet nor safe.

2. By the existing laws of the land, no person who has given a voluntary support or aid to the Rebellion can be a Member of Congress or hold any Federal office. No pardon or other act within the power of the President can affect the validity or efficacy of these laws until Congress shall see fit to repeal them. Until they shall have been repealed, no person who has ever aided the Rebellion can take his seat and vote in Congress without the most flagrant perjury. And these laws will not be repealed while the loyal Blacks of the South are left writhing under the feet of the ex-Rebels. There are Members enough chosen to the Congress that assembles next December to render this a moral certainty. And this is but a sample of the disabilities to be removed, the penalties to be remitted, by conciliatory action based on mutual good will.

We appeal, then, to true Conservatives, North and South, for prompt and cordial consultation and effort with intent to close the new abyss that yawns before us—to close it before passions are aroused that statesmanship cannot overcome. UNIVERSAL AMNESTY—UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE—these are the obvious bases of an adjustment honorable and beneficent alike to the North and the South. Oblivion for the past—enfranchisement and opportunity for the future—why should not all be united in a cause so sure to bless and honor all? And what policy is entitled to be commended as conservative if not one that secures all rights and remits all penalties, inciting all our people to rivalry in fraternal efforts to erect from the ashes and ruins of our bloody strife a nobler, grander fabric of prosperity than the world has ever known?

SLAVERY IN KENTUCKY.

Correspondence Worcester Daily Spy.

CAMP NELSON, KY.

IN the hope of saying something to create an enduring interest in favor of the colored refugees in this camp, I propose to pen some brief statements. It is my confident belief that but little is really known in New England of this camp, its position, its importance, and the magnitude of the work, which is continually increasing, and must call for large drafts upon the benevolence of a Christian public.

It should be borne in mind that Kentucky is yet a slave State; that slavery is not dead here. Let it be remembered that it is yet dominant, repugnant, vengeful, and malicious. The slave power is, too, in a furious rage. It is mad upon its idol. And though that idol is falling and evidently coming to its death, it is still believed in, propped up, clung to, and prayed for. The time for anti-slavery men and women to drop their hands and say "the work is done" has not yet arrived. This State may stand alone as a slave State, may hold up its head as the only State that has not been touched by enactment or proclamation publishing freedom to its slaves; it is not afraid to. If it could have the distinguishment of reinstating slavery in other States where it has been thrown down, it would do it, and call it honor, abominable and infamous as it would be.

Ye northern men that have fallen into the belief that slavery is broken, destroyed, and all that is needed is its burial out of sight, how astonished would you be to hear within six or twelve months of legislative action being taken, in Tennessee for instance, to annul all obligations giving freedom, and reanimate the body of slavery with its old spirit and life. Is this impossible? By no means. It is thought of; it is talked of. Slavery dead? Put no faith in that word until by your efforts you see the ballot in the same black hands that have held the bayonet and saved the country on the field of battle. When you have achieved that grand and just result *then* it is dead—not before. Until that day there is great work to be done. With this class lies the *genuine loyalty* of this State. The loyalty of the pro-slavery portion of it is nothing but a name; it is scarcely skin deep.

In this day of breaking of chains slavery has not forgotten its old habits. It is as cruel and fiendish as ever. It can flog and maim women—wives and mothers—with the same venomous vindictiveness as of old. It has no shame. It never can be made to blush. At another time I shall be glad to give to the public some of the narratives received and recorded here touching this point.

THE REIGN OF TERROR IN NORFOLK.

Correspondence of the Commonwealth.

NORFOLK, VA., June 25, 1865.

"The days of bayonets are passed!" is the bullying street-cry of the returned rebel soldiers in Norfolk and Portsmouth, as they fearlessly assume the once- familiar knife and pistol. At the corners, and in the market place, many have been heard to say, "We'll kill every nigger, or drive 'em all out of town." Civil power is established here, and the military command is restricted. But Gen. Howard, commandant of the small military force retained here, has said, "There is one thing I *will* do; I *will* protect the colored people."

On Thursday last, two or three southern gentlemen succeded in infusing southern sentiments into the hearts of some of the New York 13th Artillery by dosing them with drugged whiskey; and, leading themselves, they encouraged the soldiers to destroy the wares on the stand of a colored man. On from the stand, crying, "Clear out all the niggers," they passed to a ball-room, through which they dashed, driving all before them, and destroying whatever came in their way. On Friday night, a body of colored men, wishing to see a circus performance, deemed it prudent to go in a body, and protecting themselves with canes, they went forth quietly, but were fired upon as they drew near the circus. Two or three were shot; and all withdrew without offering resistance. Colored men were attacked, that night, in various parts of the city. One man was hung upon a lamp-post. Another, going home from a mission-house with a letter which had been written for him there, was seized and put into prison, where he remained until the next day, when his kind amanuensis obtained his release. A worthy exhorter was knocked down, and severely injured, on his way home from church. Another was woefully bruised, while crossing the street from the house of a sick sister to his own home. On Saturday night, the wood-wharf men were attacked, and the stores of two Union white men were broken into, and much of the property destroyed. Finding the declaration, "I am a Union man," no defence against the attack of New York soldiers, one man resorted to his pistol, and, after wounding two of his assailants, succeeded in making his escape. Last night many shots were fired in Portsmouth. The demonstrations there are more violent than here.

On Sunday, two colored men were found hanging dead upon trees, this side of Suffolk. And a young man leaving a church in this city, was shot through the side, and robbed. He still lies, a panting sufferer, on an attic floor; bare of every comfort, save the inestimable one of a devoted mother, who leaves him neither night nor day. "He might have gone to the hospital," his mother said; "but I want him where I can be with him, and do for him all the time." My sister and I well remember when the mother and son came from their master to Norfolk. "We won't stay upon government one moment," the mother said. "Uncle Sam is very good, but he has too much to do; and we don't want to trouble any one, I'll get a little room, and I reckon we can scrub along." And from that little room, for months, they have gone out to their little work, coming back at night to peace and independence; never dreaming of one to molest or make them afraid.

I have just come from the bedsides of two wounded men. One of them was quietly passing to his home, when three soldiers ran after him and fired three shots, neither of which took effect. They then cried "Halt!" but, as the man knew their order was not to be respected, he walked on. Another shot was fired, and the ball passed through his mouth. "Finish him, finish him," some one cried. Two men overtook him, and each pointed a revolver at his breast; he turned their hands aside, and said: "You don't shoot me again." "Very well," they said "come into the guard house." There he was received without investigation. In the morning, when the officer of guard came, he inquired what brought him there, and after hearing the man's story, he said: "Pity they did not kill you." The other man is badly wounded in the leg. He was hobbling home from his day's work at the government commissary when he was overtaken by a howling crowd. His colaborers were with him, and eleven shots were fired at them. Only one took effect. "You must fight it out, I can do nothing for you," the Mayor of Norfolk said to a committee of colored men who sought his protection. The rioters are taking advantage of the divided, and somewhat obscurely defined, responsibilities resting upon the associated military and civil authorities; responsibilities which the civil authorities shirk, when the interests of the colored men or of Union citizens are at stake. The Mayor of Portsmouth, whose city is more disturbed than our own, requests Col. Howard to "relieve Portsmouth of its military guard!" Col. Howard is abroad, with the will of an army in his breast, and we are confident he will speedily restore quiet again. The disturbance is maintained through the day-time.

A man who just passed my window told me this story: "Two New York soldiers came up to me, fifteen minutes ago, rolling up their shirtsleeves, and saying, 'We are going to kill every one of you.' 'You'll have a heap to do, then,' I said. But I shan't run away from you. I'll meet you, but I shan't run.' Then one of the soldiers drew back, and begged the other off." I heard one of the soldiers say, yesterday, in presence of several citizens, "The citizens got us to do this. They told us to clean out all the men, and then they could take care of the women and children. I've painted here for twenty-five years, and everybody has thought a heap of me; and I've never been beaten and bruised about in this manner, and I ain't going to stand it, either. I'm one that's always quiet, and ain't meddling with nobody, and I don't want nobody to meddle with me. They think they've got all out of us they can, and now they want to get rid of us. I've always been ready to do anything for the soldiers. Many a time they've asked me for a quid of tobacco, and I have not had any, and I've gone into a store and spent the last cent I had for some, and gladly give it to them." One man said to me, "I heard some soldiers say, this whole thing was got up in New York, and was to run all through the Southern cities."

Day and night, men, boys and soldiers cry "Nig!" "Nig!" at sight of a colored man, and hasten to molest him. Several have said to me, "We're having what we suffered when the Union forces first came into Norfolk." One man said: "We rejoice to see the Northern soldiers; there was nothing we would not do for them; and they knew it, too. We were humble, grateful and respectful. But the New York 99th destroyed our property, shot us down, and injured us in every possible way. They got men from their beds at night, saying, "The general has important work for you to do," and then took the men so willing to work for the government, and sent them over the lines, and sold them as slaves. It seems, now, as if we had no one to protect us, and there's nothing left us but to protect ourselves."

The colored people are grieved, but not cowed. "We are a nation that loves the white people," one man said, and we would never attack them, but if we are driven to exasperation we know our duty."

CONTRABAND.

MISSISSIPPI.—SHARKEY AND HIS GOVERNMENT.

THE OLD SECESSIONISTS AGAIN IN POWER.—A WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS.—CIVIL VS. MILITARY AUTHORITY.—A GLOOMY PROSPECT.

Correspondence of the Chicago Tribune.

VICKSBURG, MISS., June 27, 1865.

YOU will remember that after the surrender of the rebel army under Dick Taylor, Governor Clark, of Mississippi, issued a proclamation, convening the rebel Legislature, and that Gen. Canby ordered that they be arrested if they presumed to meet and legislate for the State. It may not be generally known, however, that the Legislature did meet, and that they appointed Judge Sharkey a commissioner to Washington.

The Vicksburg *Herald* states that he went to Washington as a private individual, and that the appointment of Provisional Governor was tendered him, which he accepted after taking the subject under advisement, *and being assured that his position, as defined by himself, was approved by the President.*

The Provisional Governor arrived here last evening and immediately *appointed the old county and town officers to return to their old positions.* Upon these individuals there does not rest the slightest suspicion of loyalty, though, in order to accept the office, they will swallow the Amnesty Oath with as much ease as they would a glass of grog. Already a writ of *Habeas Corpus* has been served upon Col. Smith, the Post Commander, to relieve the military prison of a rebel Jew by the name of Lake; which writ, of course, was not honored. The military are thoroughly disgusted with the shape that affairs are taking, and those who were inclined to settle in the South when their term of service expired, have now no intention of doing anything so foolish. The few old loyal citizens are astonished at the course taken by President Johnson, and are making arrangements to dispose of their property and emigrate to Northern States.

The negroes are told that they must work for their masters as they have done heretofore, or that they will not be permitted to remain in the State, and they are beginning to think that they lost their freedom when President Lincoln was murdered.

Officers and soldiers are informed by the citizens that the blue coats will not be needed here much longer, and that they will not permit them to remain, as they intend to manage their own affairs in future. Judge Sharkey is more moderate, but *believes there are decidedly too many colored troops in the State.*

Is it possible that President Johnson intends to turn the few loyal whites and the blacks over to the mercy of the traitorous pro-slavery aristocracy? If so, he is an unworthy successor of the great and good man who preceded him, and Congress will have to undo the work that should never have been done, and return the South to the military authorities until the population have become sufficiently loyal, by reflection and emigration, or some other agency, to be safely intrusted with the management of the State.

You will find no occasion to change your often expressed opinion upon the hasty reorganization of the Southern States, for time will prove you right, and that these people must be governed by the military for two years at least.

I send some copies of papers published here, which may be of use to you, as indicatory of the opinions prevalent in this lately "rehabilitated" State. The *Mississippian* represents what there is here of sound national feeling. The "*News*" is the organ of those who maintain slavery to be a divine institution, and secession a State right. You will perceive how difficult it is even for the *Mississippian to understand that slavery is abolished, while the News does not understand it, nor believe it at all! The great majority of the white people of the State coincide in opinion with the News.* A respectable and growing minority of the white people support the views of the *Mississippian*, as do the blacks also, so far as it speaks for their freedom.

There will be a serious conflict in the State Convention soon to assemble, on the question of amending the State Constitution so as to harmonize it with the new order of things. The *News* party (let us so call it) *will insist that the Emancipation Proclamation was unconstitutional and of no legal force*; at the least, they will insist that it was a war measure, and whatever legal force it had during active war has now ceased. *I believe this party will be in the ascendant, and that no change will be made in the State Constitution or the laws affecting the blacks. Possibly some long-winded scheme of gradual emancipation may be adopted. Members of Congress will be elected who hold these views, not only from this State, but from all the other Gulf States.* The controversy will then be transferred to Washington, and will interest the whole country. I cannot believe that either House of Congress will admit such members; but in these days of begging on the one hand and concession on the other, all things are possible.

HENRY WINTER DAVIS ON NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

AT Chicago, on the 4th instant, Henry Winter Davis delivered an eloquent oration, in which he spoke in favor of negro suffrage, as follows:

"No State government has ever been recognised which ostracised a majority or any great mass of the people. When slavery existed, slaves were merged in the use of the master. But the right of the State to ostracise a great mass of free negroes has never been recognised. They were a handful everywhere but in Maryland—and there they voted with the whites on the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. If this precedent be set now, it is for the first time to be set. When negroes become free they become a part of the people of the nation; and to ostracise them is to sanction a principle fatal to American free government.

"In South Carolina there are twice as many negroes as whites; in Mississippi there are more negroes than whites; in Alabama, in Louisiana, and Georgia they are nearly equal. They are now in sufficient numbers at the South to control the result of any election. 'They will vote with their masters' insidious gentlemen tell us—then, at least, let their masters be under the necessity of touching their hats to them to get their votes. [Laughter and applause.] 'They are not intelligent enough to vote,' another says. They know, fellow-citizens, a gray uniform from a blue one. [

to talk of this after we have had to call them to our aid in putting down this rebellion is either drivelling folly or infinite meanness.—[Applause.] If you did not wish to have the negro hereafter to enjoy the rights of a man, why did you bury him on the battle-field. [Applause.] You, white men of Illinois, why did you not have the quota of your State increased so that the negro should not be needed? [Applause.] We, of Maryland, carried emancipation by going to the poor white men in the southern portion of the State and showing them that the negro could relieve them from military service. They did not stop to discuss his right to political privileges then. If he is their and your equal on the battle-field, in the service of the country he is and should be at the ballot-box; [applause] and if he is not your equal on the battle-field, then you have cheated the United States, to the injury of the national cause, to save yourselves service. [Renewed applause.]

"There is nothing in President Johnson's proclamation which assumes to conclude the judgment of the Congress of the United States or the recognition of State governments in the rebel States. He may have had more confidence in the white people of the South than I have—he may have desired to give them a golden opportunity of refuting every slander and silencing every doubt regarding their loyalty. He might have a hope that when they should be called upon to vote on the constitutions under his proclamation, to be ready to present them to Congress in the form of petitions, for they would be nothing else, that seeing the signs of the times, and what justice and humanity require, or rather what the long-headed people of the North will naturally suppose their safety requires, they may incorporate universal suffrage as the basis of their constitutions. I shall rejoice with him if that result shall come about, but I am far from expecting it.

"I will not believe, until I learn the contrary, that that was his purpose. I will not believe the declaration of any person who says he is opposed to it. He knows that the only authority that can recognise State governments at the South is the Congress which admits their representatives and senators, that it must judge of the republicanism of their form of government. I turn to them with some doubt, but with earnest hopes, and I appeal to them to be ready for any emergency, to be caught by no snare, to yield to no solicitations, not to take any man's declaration as to the safety of trusting the whole mass of the rebels of the South with the control of the Southern States, but to remember that a revolutionary minority can and will throw almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of legislation; that the minority of the southern delegations, joined with interested and discontented men from the North, may clog and even arrest the wheels of government on any bill; that they can organize a powerful opposition to the payment of our national debt and the imposition of taxes, unless we agree to their demands to reinstate rebel officers, place their wounded on your pension lists, or indemnify slaveholders for their slaves.

"I pray these gentlemen to look this thing in the eye, and if they have no regard for 'justice and humanity,' I would say to them 'I, like you, gentlemen, am no enthusiast. I am very little of a philanthropist. I have no supreme love of the intellectual superiority of the negro over the white; but I know that his vote is important, and if I have not much respect for justice and humanity, I have for the five-twenties (laughter and applause); I have great respect for the integrity of the government and the possibility of carrying on its machinery, and if their constitutions do not give the mass of the negroes the right of voting on equal terms with the loyal white men—not those who can read, where it has been a penitentiary offence to teach one to read for twenty years; that is trifling with grave matters—but to that mass of the negro population whom we subjected to the draft, and at whose hands we sought aid in our hour of weakness; the safety of the nation requires, republican principles require, that no such government shall be recognized as republican in form, that no representative or senator from such a State shall be admitted to either House, or even complimented with the privileges of the floor.

"We need the votes of all the colored people; it is numbers, not intelligence, that count at the ballot-box—it is the right intention, and not philosophic judgment, that casts the vote. (Applause). More glorious still would it be for Congress to follow the great example we have just had of abolishing slavery by an amendment of the Constitution. Let them pass by their two-thirds majority, in both houses of Congress, an amendment of the Constitution securing forever the mass of the people as the basis of the republican government of the United States, and submit it this very coming winter, before the legislatures adjourn, for their information. (Applause). And when it shall have received the assent of three-fourths of those now recognized as States and presented in Congress, let Congress instantly proclaim it as the fundamental law, of the land, valid and binding as the Constitution itself, of which they will thus have made it a part, under which they sit, which no State caprice, no question of political parties, nothing in the future, except the triumph of slavery over free institutions, can ever shake or call in question. (Applause.)

"Then all the proclamations of the Declaration of Independence will be executed; this government will rest on the rights of individual liberty and the right of every man to bear a share in the government of the country whose laws he obeys and whose bayonet in the hour of danger he bears. And the personal freedom which the dark children of the republic have won by our blood and theirs will not be a vain mockery, exposed to violation at the caprice of their masters, enthroned in the legislature, on the bench and in the executive chamber, but, secured by the bayonet they hold and the ballot they cast, will be liberty guarded by power."

TEXAS.—THE NEGROES.

From the New York Tribune.

THE *Herald* has a Galveston letter of the 2d inst., which says:

"While the white man is looking up to prosperity and wealth, the negro, on the contrary, *is becoming demoralized*—lazy, insolent, and totally untrustworthy for steady employment. The advent of Northern soldiers among them has tended to corrupt their minds, and fill the same with *wild and fanciful notions* in regard to and connected with the boon of freedom.

"On the 27th, a meeting of the Common Council was held in this city, at which his Honor the Mayor stated that the Board had been assembled by his order to take into consideration several matters of interest to the city, and which required immediate attention. One of them was the altered condition of the colored population, which *required new regulations for the protection of the citizens. He regretted to see that some of the citizens were renting houses to those negroes who had left their employers*, thus giving facilities for establishing various nuisances and committing depredations upon citizens. He had received many representations of negroes congregating for improper purposes in the houses they occupied, and of many disorders. He had no power to remedy these evils, unless a sufficient police force be furnished. The ordinances against the meeting of slaves, and their renting houses apart from their owners, are now inapplicable. The ordinance against vagrancy could be made available, but requires amendment."

—That *the negroes* required any "protection" by law, or were entitled to any, does not seem to have entered the brain of this model magistrate. Some of those negroes, it seems, had been guilty of leaving their "employers"—that is, their late owners—and had atrociously hired tenements for their own use, to the perfect satisfaction of the owners of those tenements, but not to that of the ex-owners of the negroes. Hereupon, the Common Council is convened to devise ways and means of putting a stop to such goings on, and sending the negroes back to their late masters, of whose generous intentions towards them the Houston *Telegraph* (ultra-Rebel from the start) says:

"Regarding contracts, of course, every planter must be his own judge of what he can do, and, when matters are fully settled, the price will regulate itself. At present, prices vary much. A planter who has an over-proportion of old and young negroes cannot pay as much as one whose negroes are all full hands. These old and young must be supported; and, while many negroes recognize their relationships, the majority, we apprehend, will be disposed to cast off their very old who cannot support themselves. Nor can the planter be called upon to support them, since his means of doing so are taken away. Where there are many to be supported, who have no grown children to take care of them, it must be a charge on the whole number.

"Again, the wages must depend greatly on the promise of the crop. Some will be able to pay fair wages this year, while others can pay nothing.

We hear of contracts to pay *all the way from one to six dollars per month. We have heard of none above six dollars.* One, however, has come to our knowledge, promising to divide five bales of cotton among eleven hands. At present prices of cotton, this will be the most liberal contract in the State, and far more liberal than planters can afford as a general thing."

—Now "the present prices of cotton" are notoriously thrice as high as they have averaged since Texas was colonized by Yankees—the prices under which slaveholders have eagerly paid *each other* from $12 to $25 per month for the hire of field-hands. They did this when cotton brought them 10 to 15 cents per pound; they are now getting 40 to 50 cents, and likely to get more rather than less for the crop now growing; yet their oracle says that they pay their laborers $1 to $6 per month—never more than $6. And if any of them become so "demoralized" by the "wild and fanciful notions of Freedom," that they wish to leave and do better, they are met at Galveston by municipal protests against letting them tenements, and amendments of the vagrant law to drive them back into bondage. And Gen. Gordon Granger, commanding at Galveston, is impelled to issue, the day after the meeting of the Common Council aforesaid, the following most inhuman order:

OFFICE OF PROVOST-MARSHAL-GENERAL,
DISTRICT OF TEXAS,
GALVESTON, Texas, June 28, 1865.

All persons formerly slaves are earnestly enjoined to remain with their former masters under such contracts as may be made for the present time. Their own interest as well as that of their former masters, or other parties requiring their services, renders such a course necessary, and of vital importance until permanent arrangements are made under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau.

It must be borne in mind in this connection, that cruel treatment or improper use of the authority given to employers will not be permitted; while both parties to the contract made will be equally bound to its fulfilment upon their part.

No persons formerly slaves will be permitted to travel on the public thoroughfares without passes or permits from their employers, or to congregate in buildings or camps at or adjacent to any military post or town. They will not be subsisted in idleness, or in any way except as employees of the Government, save in cases of extreme destitution or sickness; and in such cases the officers authorized to order the issues shall be the judges as to the justice of the claim for subsistence.

Idleness is sure to be productive of vice, and humanity dictates that employment be furnished these people, while the interest of the commonwealth imperatively demands it, in order that the present crop may be secured. No persons, white or black, and who are able to labor, will be subsisted by the Government in idleness, and thus hang as a dead weight upon those who are disposed to bear their full share of the public burdens. Provost-marshals and their assistants throughout the district are charged with using every means in their power to carry out these instructions in letter and spirit. By order of Major-Gen. GRANGER.

R. G. LAUGHLIN, Lieut.-Col. and Provost-Marshal-Gen., District of Texas.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 22, 1865.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

NO STATE SHALL MAKE ANY DISTINCTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AMONG THE NATURALIZED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES RESIDING WITHIN ITS LIMITS, OR AMONG PERSONS BORN ON ITS SOIL OF PARENTS PERMANENTLY RESIDENT THERE, ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR, OR DESCENT.

We are glad to see that WINTER DAVIS, at Chicago, echoed the suggestion made by THEOPHILUS PARSONS in Faneuil Hall for another Amendment of the Constitution. We place at the head of this article the form of such an amendment, which has been advocated in our Anti-Slavery meetings for the last year or two. There can be no end to the Anti-Slavery agitation till such a provision is incorporated into our Federal Constitution.

One of the plans for settling our present troubles is for the President to allow negroes to vote in forming the new State Constitutions. We waive, for the present, all objections to the President's usurpation of power in his interference with the reconstruction of Rebel States—the whole matter really belonging to Congress. But if he did so call the blacks to the ballot box in this one instance, any State Constitution framed by the whites in their present mood might, and certainly would, shut the black race from this right in ordinary times, and probably would deny them the right to vote even on the adoption of such Constitution itself. This plan, therefore, to protect the blacks would manifestly be ineffectual.

Others plan to have Congress impose on the Rebel States, as a condition precedent to their admission to Congress, that their Constitutions shall grant suffrage without distinction of color. This also would be wholly inadequate. Constant efforts would be made, and probably would be soon successful, to disfranchise the hated race. During and long after our Revolutionary war, all the Southern States, except South Carolina, allowed free Negroes to vote; and all have since taken that right away. Under the Tennessee Constitution adopted in 1796, which Jefferson pronounced "the least imperfect and most Republican" of all that had then been made, Negroes voted for forty years; being disfranchised as late as 1834.

There is no full and adequate protection for a race thus hated and in a minority, except by means of a provision incorporated into the Federal Constitution and binding on all the States forever.

Some object that this is a restriction on State Sovereignty. True, it is. We will not stop to discuss the theory and limitations of State Sovereignty, about which parties differ so widely. We simply refer the objector to Article 1st, Section X. of the Constitution. There he will see that our fathers themselves saw fit to impose several important restrictions on State Sovereignty. No State can make treaties, coin money, grant letters of marque or titles of nobility, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver legal tender, pass bills of attainder or *ex post facto* laws or laws impairing contracts. No State can, without consent of Congress, lay any duty on imports or exports, or keep troops or war vessels in time of peace, etc., etc.

Now this policy of limiting State Sovereignty, which our fathers commenced, the war has shown us the necessity of carrying out still further than they did. The Nation has begun and almost consummated an Anti-Slavery Amendment of the Constitution forbidding States to create or maintain Slavery. We think the cause and course of the war show us the need of still another restriction on State power: that expressed at the head of this article. Of course, no one will deny the power of the people, as our Declaration of Independence asserts, to alter or abolish any form of government which has become inimical to liberty, and to institute new ones in such form as seems to them "most likely to effect their safety and happiness." Having this right, shall we exercise it? The history of our Union shows us that States—civil forms—growing out of opposite ideas, must always be in antagonism and often at war. The North based on Equality, the South based on Inequality and Caste, after a struggle of seventy years to keep the peace, finally broke into *open* fight. As long as we leave these two opposites, Civilization and Barbarism, within the Nation, there must be dissension, and may at any time be war. Hence the duty of the people to secure homogeneous civil institutions all over the Union. Civil rights should be, in general, alike throughout the Nation. The *foundation* of the State should be everywhere the same. No other basis is safe. This is the only security for peace. This once achieved, the Nation becomes truly *one*, and will unfold harmoniously for her great future.

After the rebel States have resumed their places in the Federal system, the National authority cannot interfere in their domestic affairs. The tenure of land, sanctity of marriage, family rights, protection of individuals and of industry, are exclusively within State control. So much stronger the reason why those civil arrangements which inevitably make or mar National life should be fixed beforehand; and so fixed as not to endanger National peace.

To be *one people* and dwell together in peace, the *ideas* out of which the Nation grows must be generally alike. Our fathers endeavored to secure this *oneness*, and still leave as large Sovereignty as possible within the exclusive control of the States. They drew the line which separates State and Federal power as wisely as they knew, and safely, they thought. This war has shown that they left the States too strong and unbridled for the National welfare. Their power of maintaining a system of Chattel Slavery almost wrecked the Nation. The Nation now wishes to leave the States as large a Sovereignty as is consistent with peace. But she has learned the need of carrying the fathers' line more closely round the area of State power, and consequently of abolishing the State right to make or keep a slave. Can we, in the light of that same lesson and consistently with National peace, leave with the States the power to create or maintain a system of Aristocratic *Caste?* We think not; and now is the time to carry the restraining line one degree further still.

States grow out of four roots—wealth, education, society, politics. The white race holds the first three—wealth, book-learning, and social position. We ask the Nation to let the fourth—politics, *i.e.* civil rights—be shared equally among all citizens. With that fulcrum, civil rights, the negro will achieve the others—education, wealth, and social position. He has no right to them till he has earned them. Reconstructed on this plan, the rebel States will grow into a democracy like that of the North. The President's plan, on the contrary, gives to the white race, which now monopolizes wealth, education, and fashion, the monopoly of civil rights also. That plan perpetuates aristocracy and insures war. Possessed of this boundless power, the white governing race will make the negro's liberty a sham. The whites may faithfully obey the Anti-Slavery Amendment, which we trust soon to see incorporated into the Constitution, and yet grind the Negro to powder; prevent or discourage his education, hamper him in marriage, forbid him to own land, to sue or testify in Courts, to follow gainful trades, etc., etc; indeed to do anything which we of the North consider the essence and fundamental rights of freedom. Recall the picture Tocqueville drew of the French and German peasant at the close of the eighteenth century, when chattelism had been abolished and so much of serfdom retained; remember the sad and terrible results of that system. Multiply them tenfold, and you will see our future under such a rule as the President plans.

Justice to the Negro demands such curtailment of State power as our Amendment provides. In the words of the recent Faneuil Hall Address:

"The public faith is pledged to every person of color in the rebel States, to secure to them and their posterity forever a complete and veritable freedom. Having promised them this freedom, received their aid on the faith of this promise, and, by a successful war and actual military occupation of the country, having obtained the power to secure the result, we are dishonored if we fail to make it good to them."

THE PEOPLE, THE ONLY TRUE SOVEREIGNS, never trusted the Federal Government with the power to make a Slave or a Noble. Foolishly and wickedly they did trust the States with the power to make a Slave. That right merciless war has taught us to take away. Complete the work. Inaugurate Republican Governments. Refuse to the States what we have always refused to the Nation—the right to maintain an order of untitled nobles; to breed up one class booted and spurred, and another saddled and bridled for the first class to ride.

PROMISES BEFORE ELECTION.—PERFOMANCE AFTER.

ON his nomination for the Vice-Presidency by the Republican party, Andrew Johnson made a speech in Nashville, Tennessee, accepting the nomination, and declaring his principles. Among other things that ought to be done, he thought that merit ought to be rewarded without regard to color.

"'Freedom,' he said, 'means liberty to work, and then to enjoy the fruits and products of your labor. This is the philosophy of it. Let all men have a fair start and an equal chance in the race of life, and let merit be rewarded without regard to color.' He was for cutting the negro loose; and he believed that in freeing the negro we were emancipating the poor white man from a no less degrading slavery to the aristocracy, which he again alluded to as 'this infernal and damnable aristocracy,' and which he declared himself in favor of breaking up. 'And in thus freeing the slave, thereby committing a great right, you destroy aristocracy, and thus abolish a great wrong.'"

Elevated to the Presidency by the death of Mr. Lincoln, the first and grand ruling measure of his Administration is the exclusion of the whole colored population of the rebel States from the right of voting, *on account of their color.* To accomplish this measure, President Johnson selects from their old Slaveholding Constitutions the one sole article providing that only white men shall vote, and orders the reconstruction of the State government according to that rule. It is the President's own rule, by proclamation. It is Presidential law; for it is not pretended that the old rebel Slaveholding Constitutions have any authority, or are in any way to be regarded by the United States government. But notwithstanding this, President Johnson takes that exclusion of the black race, on account of their color, and makes that the primary law. By that he forbids the colored race from having any part in the primary Convention of the people, but asserts that the white race alone are meant when the Constitution declares that the people of each State shall elect their rulers. The whites are the governing race, and by shutting out the blacks from any part in the primary meetings of the people appointing a convention, President Johnson makes certain their exclusion from all after representation, and puts the whole power of the State into the hands of the whites exclusively, with the precedent established that none but whites can vote.

All this, well knowing that the blacks are the loyal inhabitants, and the whites the rebels. Thus far deals the President with the Vice-President's promise of *rewarding merit without regard to color,* "and giving all men a fair start and equal chance in the race of life." To enable the rebels to start fair in their work of ruling, he pardons them by the wholesale, and bestows upon them the exclusive right of suffrage. To enable the loyal colored race to start fair in their toil as mudsills, he takes away from them the right of suffrage, and appoints the white race as their rulers. *On account of their color* he excludes the whole black population from any rights under the Constitution guaranteed to *the people;* from the rights of citizenship, from the right of representation, from every right except that of being taxed, taxed, and ruled by the whites of the rebel States, according to such laws as they, the whites, may please to enact for their own purposes.

President Johnson has summoned the rebel whites to the work of restoration of the rebel States, excluding the blacks from any share in this work, or in its benefits.

But Vice-President Johnson, in his Nashville speech, pledged himself to exclude the rebels from that work, and to permit only loyal persons to a share in it. We quote the Nashville report of his speech at the nomination:

"He then asked who was to do this work of restoration. Certainly not the rebels who had fought, or those who had given aid and influence to the rebel cause. Such men should not control the affairs of State, or else all the efforts had been made in vain—all our victories had been even in vain, and all our privations and suffering had been endured in vain and were unavailing. He then announced it as his feeling and opinion that if there are not more than five thousand men in Tennessee who have been and are loyal to the country, to justice, and to the principle of freedom, that five thousand should control absolutely and wholly the affairs of the State. The traitor who had rebelled, ceased to be a citizen, and was an enemy. He alluded to the naturalization laws, and declared that he was in favor of subjecting the traitor to a severer test than the foreigner, and, indeed, the severest test. He objects to Mr. Lincoln's amnesty oath, and says those who have taken it are not to be trusted. He wanted to see the traitors punished and their leaders hung; and the day was not far distant when retribution would be demanded, and treason would be odious. It must be made so."

These were the opinions of Mr. Johnson, seeking office for himself, accepting his nomination to the office of the Vice-Presidency at the hands of the Republican party.

But as President he has other opinions, having obtained the power. Instead of punishing the traitors, he rewards them with the right of suffrage. Instead of rewarding the loyalists, he punishes them by excluding them from the right of representation, the right of citizenship on account of their color. Instead of excluding the rebels from power, he appoints them to it. He appoints, as President, those very men to "control the affairs of State" whom, as nominee for the Vice-Presidency, he had declared should be excluded. He appoints to the rule of the rebel States "the rebels who had fought, and those who had given aid and influence to the rebel cause." He sets apart that portion of the people, by proclamation, who took the States into rebellion to take now the power over them, "to control absolutely and wholly the affairs of the State."

We add the report of Vice-President Johnson's speech in Washington on the taking of Richmond, giving his views in regard to the negro. It was published at the time, as follows:

"The Vice-President was holding forth very eloquently in front of Admiral Lee's dwelling, just in front of the war-office in Washington. He said he was willing to send every negro in the country to Africa to save the Union. Nay, he was willing to cut Africa loose from Asia, and sink the whole black race ten thousand fathoms deep to effect this object. A loud voice sang out in the crowd: 'Let the negro stay where he is, Governor, and give him the ballot, and the Union will be safe for ever!' 'And I am ready to do that, too!' shouted the Governor, with intense energy, whereat he got three times three for the noble sentiment. I witnessed this scene, and was pleased to hear our Vice-President take this high ground, for up to this point must the nation quickly advance, or there will be no peace, no rest, no prosperity, no blessing, for our suffering and distracted country."

Again, as Vice-President, Mr. Johnson was "ready to do that, too," ready to give the negro the ballot, as well as to sink the whole black race to save the Union. As President, he excludes the negro from the ballot, and gives it to the rebel population. He does what he can. Not being able to send every negro to Africa, nor to cut Africa loose from Asia, he lets the negro stay where he is, *and takes away the ballot from him.* 'The whole Democratic party, South and North, will join him in this, and will govern the whole country by the Southern whites, through the oppression of the negro, as for seventy years past.

EXECUTIVE USURPATIONS.—The admonition of Washington on this head should be regarded. "The habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it, which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardians of the public weal against invasions of the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern, some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. Let there be no change by usurpation. This is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

THE delegates of the Radical German Organization, recently assembled in Indianapolis, have issued a circular. Their first article is in favor of the unconditional admission of the negro to the full rights of citizenship; the second calls for a change in the present system of executive power, by uniting it with the Legislative, and exercising it through a committee of the House of Representatives; the third is in favor of the Monroe doctrine; the fourth is opposed to any religious tests like the oath on the Bible, opening of legislative assemblies with prayer, etc.; and the fifth and last states that there is a pressing necessity to provide for the laboring classes by State help in certain cases.

SAYS the Kentucky correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial:*

"Union speakers in the present canvass overlook one very important fact in addressing their audiences, and that is, that *the conservative Congressmen from this State, who were in the last Congress, are all in favor of repudiating the national debt.* Garrett Davis, and Mr. Powell, and Mallory, and such men, have said repeatedly, on the floor of Congress, that the debt incurred by this war would never be paid, and they never cast a vote in favor of sustaining the national credit. A Senate or House of Representatives in which gentlemen of this sort had a majority would cancel the obligations of the Government, in Mississippi style, before the first of next January."

—Messrs. Davis and Powell will soon be found urging an alternative policy—repudiation of the National or assumption of the Confederate debt.

CORRECTION.—C. C. Burleigh wishes the following correction made in the report of his remarks at Framingham: Instead of saying that he "doubted if it would be best for the South to do this work" (of securing the elective franchise to the black man)—he said "no doubt it would be best for the South to do this work if she *would* do it." He doubted her willingness to do it, and the safety of trusting her with it.

MR. SALATHIEL ELLIS has completed a medallion portrait of Mr. Theodore Tilton, of the *Independent*, which is pronounced by competent judges a remarkable success, indeed, "incapable of improvement." It may be obtained at the rooms of the artist, 83 Amity Street, and 749 Broadway. Price, one dollar.

WE are desired to state that the address of Miss Sarah P. Remond will be for the present, 59 Mornington Road, Regent's Park, N. W., London; care of William Hobson, Esq.

TO WHOM SHALL THE PEOPLE LOOK?

To the Editor of the Standard:

THE true statesmen for this hour are they who teach most clearly the lesson of individual rights. The danger is at hand; but wise men stand ready to lead the way; men who have been carefully trained outside of all church and party organizations; held as in the hollow of God's hand for the last thirty years, purified by persecution, lifted by principle, above the motives that move ordinary men; separated from the world and seemingly consecrated for this very crisis—to teach the people justice, the only way to peace and life and immortality.

The republic, the administration, the Union party, the church, are all immensely valuable; but there are rotten places in their policy, and they are the true statesmen and saints who refuse to add to this superstructure until the foundations are made whole.

In the life of nations, the teaching of sound principles of universal application is of far more importance than the preservation of any special form of government or church creed, for one people, in a certain latitude.

Better for us that our republic crumble to dust than that those of us who know and love justice consent in the reconstruction to see the least right of the meanest citizen outraged or denied. The war, with its horrors, losses, and deaths, has been in vain, if through these sufferings the dying virtue and faith of the people be not roused to a new and higher life.

Now all men should be honest in *church* and *state*, no matter for the prosperity of sects and parties; we have had that in the past while the nation groaned in the pangs of dissolution.

Let those who see wrong protest against it, and back their protest with brave action. God grant our leading men may never again stultify themselves as in the last Presidential campaign with the poor plea of "party necessity." Had all those who saw the right road walked therein, the Republican party might have been shattered to pieces, but the blackest page in our national history would never have been written. There is no limit in the moral universe to the power of true words; those who utter them are linked with the just of all ages, in the past and the future, to the throne of God, but priests and politicians and editors who think one thing and say another, talk for Sundays, Fourth of Julys, or Presidential campaigns, but not for eternity; and their power dies with them. E. C. S.

AN ENGLISH OPINION.

THE following extract from a private letter from Col. Peronet Thompson will not be without interest to many of our readers:

ELIOT VALE, BLACKHEATH, LONDON, S. E.,
27 June, 1865.

The grand hitch and difficulty, as might be foreseen, was on the question of Negro Suffrage. And there could be no doubt of the fact that jealousy of *color* created obstacles which would not have existed in the case of an arrival of four millions of Irish or Germans. And this was precisely what pointed to the importance of grasping at any rule, however slow, of admission of foreigners to vote, if only it made the rule the same to all.

Does Andrew Johnson mean that Frederick Douglass shall be incapable of having a vote unless he can change his skin? If he does, Andrew Johnson's memory will be one condemned in Europe and America.

We must *hope on*, we have been helped before; and shall be helped again.

Yours truly, T. PERONET THOMPSON.

Rev. Dr. Cheever, Church of the Puritans, New York.

P. S.—Since writing the above, I have seen your President's two Proclamations in the London *Times* of 26 June. The case is worse than I thought. Our government, after all, is better than yours. You elect a man and bind yourselves for four years to stand by all his follies; we give nobody that power. The thing may possibly turn out better than it looks; but it looks very bad. The seceded States have beaten; and have carried their point. After a four years' war and military success, the point for which the war was made is thrown into the enemy's hands by the civil governors. A great many people thought they always intended it.

PERSONAL.

Fitz Greene Halleck, the poet, is now in the seventy-third year of his age. John Jacob Astor, when he died, left Mr. Halleck an annuity of $200 a year, which William B. Astor subsequently increased to $1,600 a year.

The resignation of Gen. Butler, which was sent to Washington last month, was returned to him with the indorsement "not accepted!" So Gen. Butler is still in the service.

The *Chronicle* of July 12th semi-officially asserts that Secretary Stanton does not intend to resign; that his health is very good, and that the President does not desire him to leave the department.

The long-promised volume of Mr. Buchanan is now in the hands of the publisher. It cannot fail to be of interest to the student of anatomy, wickedly says the Boston *Advertiser*, as the production of a man without any spinal vertebræ.

Stephens, ex-vice-President of the rebel Confederacy, and Gilmor, are among the few rebel prisoners remaining in Fort Warren. Both of them are retiring in their habits, and Gilmor is said to look with a good deal of anxiety for his approaching trial.

Preston King is living at the White House, says the Boston *Journal* correspondent—has the entrée of the President's room, and is often seen in *negligée* costume advising or instructing parties, probably to lighten the labors of the Executive.

The family of Admiral Du Pont desire to contradict the statement that he had left his prize money, to the amount of $175,000, to a charitable institution in Washington. No such bequest was made, and the whole prize money received by him was something short of $50,000.

John Covode has reached Washington and laid before the President a partial report of his observations in Louisiana. He gives it as his opinion that true peace and Union will not prevail there till the negroes are allowed to vote. It is understood that he also advises that Gen. Banks be allowed to come home.

Gen. Wilson, in a speech made in Washington on the 4th, summed up the war in one clever sentence. "They [the slaveholders] went into civil war to get the right to carry slaves into the Territories, and they came out of it without the right to hold slaves in the States."

That tells a good deal of truth, though not the whole truth.

Gen. Carl Schurz having resigned his commission, has been sent by the President to travel through the South on a tour of observation as to the working of Emancipation, the loyalty of the Whites, the condition of the Blacks, and the fitness of the several States for immediate restoration to their *status* prior to Secession. He is paid his expenses only, and will probably visit every State lately in revolt, Texas included.

Messrs. Vallandigham, Pendleton, Long, Olds, and the others who recently met in Ohio as a Democratic State Convention, have just sent forth a challenge to anybody to discuss with them the question of slavery, they affirming it to be the proper condition for the negroes of the South. Nobody has yet paid any attention to the Falstaffian challenge, and none is likely to. Pendleton arrived in New York on Friday.

The (London) *Times* says of the exquisite statues of our American sculptor Rogers:

"All these groups have the refreshing and unmistakable stamp of nationality upon them, and are admirable for life and spirit of action, cleverness of grouping, and truth of expression. This is better work for the plastic artist than imitating antique nudities, or outworn models. Here, at least, he has themes that come home to the heart of his critics, and breathing models in the world around him."

Miss Clara Barton, a daughter of Judge Barton of Worcester, who has devoted her time and strength to the care of the sick and wounded during the war, and who has earned a nation's thanks by publishing a list of missing soldiers, left Washington on Friday for Andersonville, Ga., for the purpose of enclosing the area of ground where so many Union prisoners perished from exposure and want, and to put up head boards at their graves. She thinks that she has a suitable list for this purpose, and takes with her seventeen thousand head boards.

A Rebel War Department dispatch lately discovered in Richmond adds force to statements heretofore made to the effect that Robert E. Lee, recently commander of the Rebel Army of Northern Virginia, is the person really responsible for the burning of cotton and tobacco in Richmond and setting fire to that city at the time of the Rebel hegira. It also shows that the evacuation was contemplated at least six weeks before it took place. The dispatch, which is dated February 22, is from Gen. Breckinridge, then Rebel Secretary of War, to Gen. Ewell, and advises Ewell to see Gen. Lee for the purpose of receiving definite instructions regarding the latter's order for the burning of cotton, tobacco, etc.

Professor Mc Cullough, formerly of Columbia College, N. Y., has been arrested, and is in prison in Washington. This person is a bitter traitor. He remained in New York for nearly two years after the beginning of the war, and then ran away to Richmond, where he at once took the place for which he had sold himself, as head of the chemical bureau. In this office he prepared inflammable compounds, which were to be used for the destruction of New York and other Northern cities, and showed a readiness to abet with his technical skill the most infamous plot of the rebel leaders for the destruction of the women and children of the North. As an adventurer, unscrupulous, treacherous, and ready to serve any cause for pay, he is one of the most detestable characters brought out by the rebellion.

The Lord Chancellor of England has been censured by the House of Commons by a resolution declaring that the evidence in the Leeds case, "and also that taken before a Committee of the Lords, to inquire into the circumstances connected with the resignation by Mr. Edmunds of the offices held by him and laid before this House *show a laxity of practice and a want of caution with regard to the public interests on the part of the Lord Chancellor*, in sanctioning the grant of retiring pensions to public officers against whom grave charges were pending, which, in the opinion of this House, *are calculated to discredit the administration of his great office.*" After a long discussion and every effort to stave off a direct censure, the house adopted the motion without a count. The Lord Chancellor has tendered his resignation, and it has been accepted by the Queen. It was understood that he would hold office until the prorogation of Parliament.

A dispatch to the Chicago *Tribune* gives the following reasons for the arrest of Emerson Etheridge of Tennessee:

"It is said that Etheridge has been doing a great deal of mischief lately in attempting to fire the hearts of the citizens of his State against the constituted authorities. In the latter speech made at Trenton to the negroes, he told them that they were no more free now than before the breaking out of the rebellion, the proclamation of the President of the United States and the action of the State authorities to the contrary notwithstanding. He has openly denounced Andy Johnson as a thief, Gov. Brownlow as an usurper, and the members of the State Legislature as the willing instruments of despots, etc., until at last forbearance ceased to be a virtue, and he is now in a fair way to feel the power of the government which he has been so free in maligning."

Truly says "Agate," of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, of Gen. Saxton:

"He is the first regular army officer who was found willing to undertake this work of caring for and superintending the freedmen; and he has done it faithfully under all manner of slights and obloquy from brother officers who thought his work unworthy of West Point. And yet he undertook it, not from any special love of the negro, but because he was ordered. 'I would have preferred being in the field,' he said simply last night, 'but I was ordered to do this thing, and I have tried to do it faithfully, till the Government gave me something else to do. I was educated in its school and for its service, and I thought it my business to do whatever it required.'

"The Government has rarely been so fortunate in selecting its agents for tasks that required peculiar adaptability."

Gen. Clinton B. Fisk, in charge of the Bureau of Refugees and Abandoned Lands for Kentucky and Tennessee, has his headquarters at Nashville, and has much trouble with the "poor whites," who are beggarly, mean, and impudent. A Nashville letter says:

"Not long since a woman from the refugee camp, which the Government has been supplying with subsistence for some time, called on Gen. Fisk for the purpose of getting transportation or rations. She was a fair specimen of the tobacco-chewing, snuff-taking 'white trash' of Tennessee. After considerable conversation of a general character, the following occurred:

"Refugee—'Mr. Fisk, be you an Abolitionist?'

"Gen. F.—'Indeed, madame, I be.'

"Refugee—'But you don't believe in nigger equality, do you?'

"Gen. F.—'I do not think, madame, that you have occasion for the slightest uneasiness on the subject of negro equality, for you must certainly learn a great deal more, and do a great deal better, before you can possibly be on an equality with a great many of the negroes.'

"Our female refugee departed without much ceremony, and it is predicted that she will throw her influence in favor of the conservative candidate at the coming Congressional election."

Mr. Mill's announcement of his willingness to submit to everlasting perdition rather than call any Deity good who is not what the word means, is making no small sensation. The *Record* calls it Satanic: the *Spectator* does not concur: the Bishop of St. David's and Mr. Maurice, in letters to the *Spectator*, decidedly approve. The Bishop calls it Christian morality; Mr. Maurice accepts it unreservedly. These are strange signs of the times; but not the only ones. The Duke of Wellington has written a letter, the plain English of which reminds us of his father, to inform his tenants that their votes are not his, but theirs, as trusts to be exercised for the public good. There are those who will give this the same name which the *Record* gives Mr. Mill. "My dear Satan!" said a friend here on earth, "you have a very bad name; don't you think a little character would be a good dodge? All your most useful servants keep a shred or two." "My dear fellow," said the Wicked One, "never doubt my being up to my business: I worked hard for the character I have got, knowing that when it was well established, it would always be a trump card to attribute anything good to myself."

Here is what Gen. Sherman says of his position on the matter of office:

"It has been surmised he had political aspirations. That was a great mistake. He would not accept the office of President were it offered to him to-day. *He could do better.* Twenty-five thousand dollars a year was no inducement for him to assume the duties and responsibilities of the Presidency. He would prefer to retain the military position he now holds. He was quite satisfied with the reputation he had gained in it, and *he intended to take care of it.* The Presidency had well nigh killed every military man that had meddled with it, and he had no purpose or desire to have anything to do with it. And it had been said he could not favor his friend Cox here for the civil office for which he is now a candidate. Here, again, he had been misunderstood. What he *did* say was, that he wondered that the General would exchange a Major-Generalship for the place of Governor of Ohio. But he supposed that possibly Gen. Cox considered it was giving up an uncertainty for a *certainty.* For himself he would not have the office if he could, for two years or five thousand years."

Mr. Henry A. Wise has *probably* enjoyed reading the following from the N. Y. *Herald:*

It will be remembered that when Old John Brown was under sentence of death in Virginia, Hon. Fernando Wood, of this city, as a fellow democrat of the Southern Rights school, wrote a letter to Henry A. Wise, at that time Governor of Virginia, pleading against the execution of Brown as a bad political move for the South, and suggesting that it would be better to hang W. H. Seward if they could catch him. It will also be remembered that Wise emphatically rejected the advice of Wood, and gloated over the hanging of Brown and its political consequences. This was in 1859, when Wise was the Lord Protector of Virginia and hot upon the trail of the Southern confederacy. What is he and where is he now? He was the other day in Richmond asking of the government authorities the privilege of occupying his own house. But it is very doubtful if his request will be granted, for a "freedmen's bureau" has its headquarters there, embracing a school where little darkies are taught to read Abraham Lincoln's emancipation proclamation and to sing

John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave,
But his soul is marching on,

by a daughter of the same Old John Brown. How vastly different might have been this case had the Virginia fire-eater followed the advice of his friend Wood in reference to that crazy old abolition fanatic, John Brown.

THE DANGER OF THE HOUR.

OTTAWA, (LASALLE CO.) ILLINOIS, July 7th, 1865.

To the Editor of the Standard.

THE subsiding tide of war seems to have left the nation substantially upon the same quick-sand in which it seemed likely to be swallowed up four years ago. No single principle in controversy has been settled by the sacrifices which have been made, no single cor

LITERARY.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. 234, April, 1865. American edition. Leonard Scott & Co., N. Y.

A number of great variety and interest. 1. Galleries of the Louvre. 2. Classical Learning in France; The Great Printers Stephens; an article full of learning and liveliness. 3. Bulwer—panegyrical, but quite too weak to break the force of the Westminster's rasping criticism. 4. French Education. 5. Ships and Guns; a title which in these days nobody skips. 6. Bishop of London's Fund; which is ecclesiastical. 7. Clerical Subscription; which is ecclesiastical also, but has no reference to benevolent subscriptions for charitable purposes, but to the raging controversy whether an affirmation of belief in all the Thirty-Nine Articles be an essential pre-requisite to fitness for service as a clergyman of the Church of England. 8. Travels in Central Asia; a very clear and readable summary of Vámbéry's book, with much geographical information thrown in by the way. 9. Libel, and the Freedom of the Press; the doctrines of which are a relic of mediævalism. 10. Parliamentary Reform; aristocratic and wicked as need be, but a pretty good piece of writing in a very bad cause. As a whole, the number is excellent in a literary point of view.

THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, No. 84, June 1865, same publishers, will serve as a foil to the foregoing. Its articles are too long, and its subjects scarcely deserved even much shorter discussions. 1. Wolf, the German scholar, gets thirty pages, double columns, of this large octavo—very German in its minuteness of detail. 2. The New Gold Mines and Prices will interest Political-economists and perhaps the Wall-street brokers. 3. Three Women of Letters, is attractive by the title—not otherwise. The Three Women are Lucy Aikin, whom Macaulay once demolished, Joanna Baillie, and Caroline Frances Cornwallis, neither of whom ever attained the distinction of being demolished by anybody. 4. England and Norway in the Eleventh Century, is out of the track of most readers. 5. Symbolism in Christian Art. 7. State and Prospects of Italy. As confused and bad writing is supposed to be the exclusive vice of Americans, let us quote a shining example of clumsiness from Scotland:

"We have before said that the Roman question falls under two aspects, closely hanging together, yet presenting issues of very different magnitudes, the one being confined to the concrete point of certain natural reasons inherent to Rome which are supposed to make the Italians hotly bent on being satisfied with nothing short of the actual installation of their seat of government within its walls; and the other comprising an intricate mass of delicate considerations, that have their source in religious scruples, and in the peculiarly sacred rank which the Pope holds in the eyes of faithful Roman Catholics."

Two aspects under which the Roman question falls; these aspects hanging together and presenting issues, one of which is confined to a concrete point, which point consists of certain natural reasons—what sort of rubbish is that to find place in one of the British quarterlies? We don't quite agree with Wordsworth, that no Scotchman can write English, but the present number of the North British might go far to justify the assertion.

A London letter-writer says that a cheap bookseller in the country has put out the following sign:—

"FOR SALE HERE:
Mill on Political Economy.
Ditto on the Floss."

THE sixth volume of that which is as distinctly the standard Shakespeare for general readers as the Cambridge is the Shakespeare for the working student—the sixth of the eight volumes of the revised edition of Mr. Dyce's Shakespeare, is now published. It contains six plays, Troilus and Cressida, Coriolanus, Titus Andronicus, Romeo and Juliet, Timon of Athens, and Julius Cæsar.

The (London) *Athenæum* is happy to announce that, under the patronage of the Prince of Wales, a "Sanskrit Text Society" has been founded "for the purpose of publishing important Sanskrit works belonging to the ancient mediæval literature of India." The President of the Society is the Duc d' Aumale. One of its Vice Presidents is Lord Dufferin.

In George Wingrove Cooke, literature has lost a useful servant. His "History of Party," with many faults, is a is a book of considerable merit; and the same may be said of his other historical essays—the "Memoirs of Bolingbroke," the "Life of Shaftesbury." But his chief works were his travels; the "Conquest and Colonization of North Africa," "Inside Sebastopol," and "China and Lower Bengal." The last-named work was the best account of China published up to the date of its appearance. Mr. Cooke had been sent out as commissioner by the *Times*—in which his lively and pictorial letters were much admired. A few legal works of no great importance (such as the "Law of Defamation," and the "Law of Copyhold Enfranchisement,") complete the list of his writings. Of late years Mr. Cooke held an appointment in the Copyhold and Enclosure Office.

We add this query, says the *Athenæum*, to a former one:

BOTTESFORD MANOR, near Brigg, June 6, 1865.

If your readers will refer to Mr. J. S. Stuart Glennie's letter in the *Times* of June 18, 1863, they will find that the late Henry Thomas Buckle left behind him, at his death, not only large portions of his "History of Civilization," but also outline essays "On the Ultimate Causes of the Interest of Money," "On Bacon," "On Shakespeare," and "On the Influence of Northern Palestine on the Origin of Christianity." Mr. Glennie remarks that he fears these essays "may not be in a sufficent state of forwardness" to be published in a collected form along with the papers contributed by their author to *Fraser's Magazine*. Whatever they be, however, we ought to have them. Every fragment of the works of that great thinker is too valuable to be lost or hidden. May we not, therefore, hope that these unfinished essays will be given to the public at the same time with the remaining portion of the "History of Civilization?"

I am, etc., EDWARD PEACOCK.

The President of Hayti, in delivering his recent message at the opening of the Chambers, after recapitulating various forms in contemplation, spoke hopefully of the cause of education as follows:

"Public instruction has received fresh developments. A small theological college, where superior education is imparted, has been founded at Port-au-Prince. At the same time, two establishments have been created which promise happy results. One is a school directed by the Brothers of Christian Instruction, and the other a school conducted by the Sisters of the Order of St. Joseph de Cluny. These two institutions have about 300 scholars. Our other scholastic establishments have been augmented to the number of 18 new schools, and the number of scholars from 14,600 has been increased to 15,697. In Europe we have 18 students in the colleges at Paris and Versailles, and 20 placed in a grand theological college. The Haytien people, the guide of the African race in the paths of civilization, is destined to prove to the other nations that the descendants of that race are not inferior to the other races disseminated on the face of the globe."

The book-rooms of Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, & Hodge, with the whole of their valuable contents, were on Thursday destroyed by fire. By this sad accident one of the most valuable collections of rare and beautiful books to be found in this country has perished. In Messrs. Sotheby's rooms at all times were to be found half a dozen or more splendid or curious libraries, waiting their turn to be sold; and at the time of the fire a great many books from the famous Daniel Library, with almost the whole of the magnificent collection formed by Mr. Offor, were upon the shelves. Unfortunately, many of the treasures destroyed were unique, and it is very doubtful if even copies of them exist, as possessors are usually very jealous of having any such made. Some of the Bibles and Testaments in Mr. Offor's library contained passages and readings not to be met with in any other versions of the Scriptures. The religious world will therefore be a loser. The following paragraph was written before the fire occurred:

The magnificent library of George Offor, the well-known editor of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," and his other works, is now being sold at Messrs. Sotheby's sale-rooms in Wellington street. The catalogue alone extends to 316 pages, and the entire collection comprises nearly 4,000 precious volumes. The principal features of this extraordinary gathering are rare, early versions of the Holy Scriptures, including the most extensive series of English Bibles, Psalters, and Testaments ever offered for sale; numerous editions of the Liturgies of Roman Catholics and Protestant Churches; works of the Fathers, mediæval writers, Reformers, Puritans, and Quakers; a remarkable series of the productions of John Bunyan—some of the early editions of which are almost worth their weight in gold; beautifully illuminated Horæ, and other manuscripts of great interest, including a very early copy of the Epistles and Gospels, in English; rare productions from the presses of Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, Pyson, and other English printers: with a curious assemblage of books written by Dissenters in the last and preceding centuries. Mr. Offor was at one time a book-seller on Tower Hill, and from an early period in life omitted no opportunity which would add to his library in Grove street, Hackney, a rare Bunyan or a curious old Bible.

London Review.

THE Indian papers still discuss with anxiety, in relation to the Indo-European telegraph, which seems at present to be working satisfactorily, "Will the cable hold?" The line, it will be remembered, passes up the Rhine, enters Austria, thence extends onward into Turkey and Constantinople. It crosses the Sea of Marmora, runs down westward through Asia Minor, on to Bagdad, along the valley of the Euphrates, and thence onward through a strip of Persia, and finally to Kurrachee. The length of the line must be at least six thousand miles. We must not forget that besides the ordinary chances of breakage, it is exposed to the malicious attacks of savage men, who can neither be cajoled nor coerced.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, July 17, 1865.

ON Thursday of last week a very interesting meeting was held at the Fraternity Rooms in this city, called by the New England Freedmen's Aid Society, to welcome back some of their teachers, lately returned from various fields of labor in the South. Edward Atkinson Esq., one of the Vice-Presidents, took the chair, and after briefly describing the purpose of the meeting, introduced to the audience Rev. Charles Lowe, lately of Somerville, one of the Society's "Committee on Teachers," who made an earnest and fervent address of welcome. Remarks to the same effect were further made by Rev. Mr. Grimes, Mr. Garrison, and Rev. Mr. Waterston.

It was seen that Mr. Redpath, the very efficient organizer and Superintendent of Schools in Charleston, was present, and, a strong desire to hear him being manifested, he gave, too briefly, some interesting details respecting portions of his work there, and the state of feeling existing among the blacks, and, on the other side, among the whites, in South Carolina. All the whites of that State, he confidently said, are as disloyal as ever. Their quietness comes only from the presence of superior force on the side of the government, and could not be counted upon for a moment after that should be withdrawn. The colored people in South Carolina so well understand the strength and malignity of the prejudice still cherished against them, that the more intelligent among them are convinced that it will be necessary to emigrate unless they can have the ballot for self-protection. Mr. Redpath added some statements respecting the "Colonel Shaw Orphan House" and the Library and Reading-room for colored people in Charleston, and other tokens of the gratifying success so far gained by the combined efforts of the freed people and their white friends.

Mr. Lowe and Mr. Garrison again spoke, each desiring to give public expression to his high regard for Mr. Redpath, and to his belief that the improved state of things in Charleston was due in a very great degree to that gentleman's zeal and efficiency.

Col. Crafts of the 5th New Hampshire Regiment was then called on by the Chairman, and willingly added his word of welcome to the returned teachers. The best influences in his own education had come from Theodore Parker, John Brown, and William Lloyd Garrison, and in the spirit of their teachings he made an earnest plea for the immediate concession of the full rights of man, including the right of suffrage, to the colored people of the South.

Mrs. F. E. W. Harper spoke, in a manner deeply affecting, of the recollections, feelings, and anticipations inspired by the presence of these teachers, and of the happy prospect now opening upon that race whose oppressed condition she formerly shared.

There was a general desire to hear some statements from the returned female teachers, but only two of them spoke. Miss Washington, a colored woman of Boston, gave the testimony which her own experience had impressed upon her respecting the bitter prejudice against her class still existing among the whites of the South; and Miss Carter described the routine of the colored children's schools, both for reading and sewing, and the labors of those who made clothing for the destitute colored people, and gave them instruction and incitement in regard to labors for themselves. She also displayed a well-made patch-work quilt which had been wrought by colored children in one of their sewing-schools, and which she had brought here to be sold for their benefit.

Mr. Atkinson gave his testimony as to the great discretion of Miss Carter in the difficult task of bestowing charity upon colored applicants in Washington. He then invited the audience to adjourn to the refreshment room, where a collation had been prepared by the Committee. While this movement was making, Mr. Atkinson set up the quilt at auction, starting it himself with an offer of twenty-five dollars. Thirty dollars were bid by Mr. Draper, of Hopedale, and the quilt stands at that point for further competition.

After a delightful hour spent in refreshment and conversation, during which pleasant old acquaintances were renewed and pleasant new ones formed, the party separated. The result of the meeting seemed to be a conviction, shared alike by the judicious and experienced officers of the Society, their returned teachers, and the friends who had come to welcome them, that the work of this association is only begun, and that an immense field, full of promise as of labor, is open before us in the South. The instruction of the poor whites as well as of the blacks is a measure indispensable to the welfare of the country. The ignorance of the former class is deeper, and well-nigh hopeless, since they don't know enough to desire the attainment of knowledge, and since, worse still, they feel a malignant hatred against their black companions in ignorance and the Northern teachers who come to offer instructions to both. The problem is vast and obscure. In the present shifting condition of things there, the plans of to-day may be overturned by the events of to-morrow. And yet Northern zeal and energy will continue to plan and to execute.

A good deal of censure has been expended by the daily press of this and other cities upon the late "murder" of a horse, by the horribly cruel process of forcing him to trot from Boston to Portland between sunrise and sunset. The word above quoted is not too strong, and the reproaches cast upon the wretch who perpetrated the act are well deserved. But the rebukes would have more force if the papers that utter them were not in the constant habit of reporting races and trotting-matches (minor degrees of the same sort of cruelty) as ordinary business transactions, calling for neither censure nor protest. The taste for racing is one of the bad habits we have learned from England, and it is evidently increasing among us. If its votaries could be made to experience in their own persons the horrible suffering that results from a rapid and long continued exercise of one set of muscles, without the power of gaining ease by variety of motion, even for a minute, and with severe punishment following every attempt on the part of the sufferer to secure this relief, they might possibly be more moderate in their exactions. There used, in my school-boy days, to be a vicious trick practised by some schoolmasters, of punishing a delinquent by making him keep a heavy dictionary extended at arm's length, without moving it from the horizontal position. This sort of passive action (if the phrase be allowable) causes great suffering after a very few minutes, and tends permanently to injure the muscles thus unnaturally treated. Both labor and rest demand variety alike, for the ease and health of the subject. Racing matches should be discouraged for their cruelty and uselessness, as well as for the habit of gambling which they cherish.

Apropos of horses—some dummy engines have been used for about two months past on the horse-car railroad between Roxbury and Dedham. Improvements are sure to excite opposition in some quarter, and certain citizens of Jamaica Plain called a meeting lately for the purpote of asking a revocation of the license which the select-men of that town had given to the new enterprise. Parties ran high upon the subject, and the meeting was large and animated. But progress carried the day, and after full discussion the plan of interference with the dummies was indefinitely postponed. If we recall the opposition that has been made, at the outset, to every new adaptation of the power of steam to the service of mankind, and the triumph invariably gained over these prejudices by perseverance on one side and better acquaintance on the other, we shall see the strong probability that steam will before long supersede horse-power on most lines of town and city railroads.

A valuable pamphlet has lately been published by Judge Wright (the fruit of his experience in our Police Court) entitled "Juvenile Criminals, and a Plan for saving them." He considers the condition of children of this class in cities, viewing it criminally, physically, socially, and generally; points out how and where those who are caught and convicted are now disposed of, and speaks impressively of the duty of the State to take measures towards saving them. As to the important question—how to do it?—he would have them clustered in families of fifteen or twenty, under judicious and efficient supervision upon an extensive farm, to be owned by the State, and applied to that purpose. He would have them educated, both in books and mechanical arts; and he makes a forcible presentation of the economy of such a movement, alike pecuniarily, morally, and socially, in contrast with the expensive and unproductive apparatus for the treatment of this large class as criminals.

In some comments upon this pamphlet by that skilful educator and zealous philanthropist, Rev. Charles F. Barnard, it is said that the Board of State Charities have arrived at and announced the conclusion that it will be best hereafter not to extend or enlarge the present State Institutions, nor to create new ones for the reformation of criminals. Mr. Barnard understands this conclusion to have been reached on the ground of the superior economy and efficiency of *private* measures of protection, prevention, reform, and relief. The Board thinks that private philanthropy should inaugurate and conduct whatever institutions it finds to be necessary, and that the State should aid them when *that* is necessary. Mr. Barnard also favors this course, and his opinion is certainly entitled to respectful attention.

I find recorded in the papers the death, on the 11th inst., from disease of the heart, of Prof. Emanuel Vitalis Scherb. He was for many years a resident in Boston, but of late had lived in Philadelphia, where he died. He was a native of Basle, Switzerland, where he edited a political journal. But he left that place in early life, in consequence of political troubles, and became a student of Divinity in Germany. Here he heard the ablest lecturers in various branches, paying special attention to Biblical science, in which he became a distinguished adept. He had naturally a strong and high poetic talent, and his literary preferences turned in that direction. Having also great facility in the acquisition of languages, he made himself familiar with the best poets of all nations, in their original tongues; and during his residence in Boston he gave admirable lectures, not only on the subject of poetry, but on the particular masterpieces of Dante, Schiller, Goethe, Petrarch, Chaucer, Shakespeare and others. He was an admirable reader, and gifted in a supereminent degree alike with depth of insight, readiness of thought, and power of expression. His power in conversation was wonderful. His skill as a lecturer was of a very high order. He was truly a genius. And he had the want of order, of regular application to business, and of provision for the needs of the future, which so often accompany genius. It is to be hoped that some of those who knew him best may give us some further particulars of his varied and eventful life. NORTH.

A DEFENCE OF GEN. HATCH.

LETTER FROM JAMES REDPATH.

To the Editor of the Standard:

MALDEN, MASS., July 12, 1865.

IN looking over the files of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD I see that the Commander of the Northern District of South Carolina has been criticized severely. As you desire to do full justice to all, permit me to place a few entries to his credit.

He is not an Abolitionist—never was one; he sometimes spells negro with a double g; but, on the other hand, although a West Point graduate, he never was a Slavery propagandist. It is stated that Mr. Jefferson Davis, when Secretary of War, prevented his promotion on the ground that he was "an Abolitionist." He was known to be a very Conservative Republican; and more of us had regarded him as even in the rear guard of the Anti-Slavery hosts. He has not essentially changed his belief—he goes no further than the Government; but, whatever his defects of character or creed may be, he has done (and permitted done) some excellent things in his District which deserve to be recorded in his favor.

First. He saved us the schools for white and colored children equally. Lt.-Col. Woodford (now Brevet Brig.-Gen.) after I peremptorily refused to have anything to do with separate schools under Government control, permitted and authorized me to take possession of the school buildings of Charleston and to open them on a basis of equality. But Col. Woodford after a few weeks' trial of its system—as soon as the old Trustees had taken the oath of allegiance—was ready to turn over the buildings to these traitors. Gen. Hatch was opposed to my policy at first, but when he saw that it worked well he intervened and refused to let the Trustees interfere with me. And he permitted no one to disturb me afterwards.

Second. He authorized me to organize a battalion of Home Guards of colored men, and gave the officers whom I selected—friends of the negro, all of them—letters of appointment. Gen. Gurney tried to break up this battalion: all the Rebels used all their influence to do so, but, as in the case of the schools, the District Commander showed a firmness with which few of us had credited him. The Home Guard still exists; and I notice that it paraded on the Fourth.

Third. When that infamous regiment, the 127th N. Y. Vols. was committing outrages on the colored people in the streets of Charleston, and their Commander was sitting supinely in his Headquarters, unwilling to believe a syllable of testimony against it, a committee of Black Loyalists waited on Gen. Hatch, and he at once told their chairman, Mr. Delarge, that he would issue an order of warning to it, and would instantly send it out of the city if another insult was offered by any one of its members to any citizen. And he kept his word; but the insults ceased.

Fourth. He abolished, as far as military interments go, the infamous and heathen custom of burying the whites and blacks in separate cemeteries. I told him that I had found that our soldiers were still buried in Potter's Field, and suggested that the best lot in Magnolia Cemetery (the Greenwood of Charleston) should be selected for our dead patriots. He authorized a party of us to select a site—we did so, acting on the motto of the Publishers of Webster's Dictionary, to "get the best;" he had it graded and adorned and enclosed. I asked him whether he would not have the white and colored soldiers buried in this site without distinction? "Of course," he said. Now this, as far as my knowledge goes, is the first time in the Southern States that this decency has been done or permitted to our dead patriots of colored blood. When I was in Tennessee I called Governor Andy Johnson's attention to the fact that while the rebel dead and our dead were buried side by side the bodies of our negro soldiers were interred apart in sloppy and slimy ground at the foot of a hill. And, as far as I know, this insult was kept up, and is still persisted in. At Savannah, Chaplain Fowler used his utmost endeavors to have our colored soldiers interred in the same cemetery as the white soldiers there; but Gen. Grover resolutely refused to permit it. Gen. Gurney refused to permit me to bury my dead orphans in the Orphan Lot in Magnolia. I did not apply to Gen. Hatch, as I had more pressing duties to attend to at the time. But I think he would have given me permission had I applied to him for it.

Fifth. He gave us—a society of colored men which I organized—permission to tear down a number of Rebel buildings in order to supply ourselves with all the lumber that we needed to build a fence to protect the graves of our martyrs who perished from hunger on the Race Course. He offered to have it done at District expense; but the "Friends of the Martyrs" would not yield the honor to the Quartermaster's Department. This act enraged the Rebels; but he gave us every aid we asked for. This may seem a small matter; but we did not so regard it.

Sixth. After the meeting called by the old Secessionist leaders to "reconstruct" the State had been broken up—by their secession from it!—Gen. Hatch announced to all the parties concerned in it that he would not permit another public meeting of any sort to be called by any party from which any class of citizens was to be excluded. They got up a call addressed to the *white* citizens; but he refused to authorize it. This step still counts *for us.*

Seventh. He gave me all the aid that any militia commander could give to establish and maintain the Col. Shaw Orphan House—and not merely approved but was highly pleased with the name I selected for it. He authorized me to take two or three of the best houses in Charleston for the orphans; and, since I left, finding that he must return to its owner, a non-combatant, the splendid dwelling that I did select, he has appropriated a mansion larger and finer still, the residence of the Rebel Secretary of the Treasury—TEENHOLM. He has regularly supplied me with rations for the children and servants.

As I was preparing to leave the city, the colored people were becoming very anxious about the policy of Gen. Hatch—fearing that he was becoming unduly influenced by the returned and returning Rebels. But I counted up the good things he had done, and told them to hope for the best. And since then, he has stamped out an attempt to establish peonage; and I hear no complaint of him from private correspondence.

I would very greatly prefer that all our officers should share the political faith of ourselves and of Gen. Saxton; but as between such Anti-Slavery men as Brev. Brig.-Gen. Gurney and such military men merely as Brev. Maj.-Gen. Hatch, I will always vote for and hope to work under the latter class. Gen. Gurney belongs to an Anti-Slavery family—boasts that he taught negroes when he was only seven years old; *talks* well about them, never uses the double g; but when it comes to action, Gen Hatch, whose orthography needs rubbing up, and who makes no claims to Anti-Slavery fidelity or faith, is vastly the more useful man. It is the old parable realised: "Yes, Lord," and he went not; "No, Lord," and he went.

Yours truly, JAMES REDPATH.

THE SOUTH AND THE NEGROES.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE *Herald* correspondent writes from Charleston, July 8:

Gen. Hatch has lately returned from a visit to Columbia, *and is more than ever impressed with the necessity for the withdrawal of the negro troops from the interior.* Since their departure from Orangeburg and Columbia, the country around has become more tranquil and the prospect of raising a crop increased. Their presence at those places *kept up among the laborers a spirit of envy and admiration for a soldier's life,* resulting in general dissatisfaction, *demoralization, and abandonment by the negroes of all labor.*

The planters on Cooper river appointed Dr. Irving to call on Gen. Hatch and submit a statement of affairs in that neighborhood. Gen. Hatch dispatched a steamer with a number of troops on board to intercept, and prevent the city from being flooded with the freedmen on the 4th. He also stationed other steamers with troops at various points on Cooper and Ashley rivers with instructions to land, if necessary, *and keep the freedmen from leaving the plantations along the Ashley and Cooper and on James Island, and from the northern side.*

Gen. Hatch also issued orders to a cavalry company at Orangeburg to repair to the east branch of Cooper river *to make the freedmen observe the contracts ordered by the department and accepted by the planters.* The cavalry were also ordered *to disarm all the insubordinate and compel them to go to work.*

—A Washington correspondent writes:

I fell in with a South Carolinian one day who took some pains to explain to me the distinction between a Reconstructionist and a Reorganizationist. He announced himself as of the latter class. I finally asked him about the negro. "I don't believe your Congress will sustain Mr. Johnson next winter when he undertakes to force us to pass the Constitutional Amendment. Our negroes are our own—Mr. Lincoln couldn't make 'em free, and your Congress can't make 'em free." "But Congress has already passed the amendment," I answered, "and three-fourths of the States will adopt it in a very short time." "I can't help it, sir; *we, and we only, have a right to set our negroes free. You may declare 'em free, but they are not free.* We shall have to work 'em, and so, of course, shall have to govern 'em." "Suppose we give them the right of suffrage?" said I. "*That never can be done, sir,—never—never. The President has put that thing into our hands, and we shall see that you don't accomplish your purpose, sir.*" "But, suppose," I continued, "suppose Congress refused to admit your senators and representatives till they are elected on the basis of negro suffrage?" "*With the President on our side,*" said he, "you wouldn't dare undertake such a thing." "It isn't in the power of any man," I replied, "to say what we shall dare." "Well," concluded he, "the niggers won't be allowed to vote in my State—that you may put down as settled."

NORTH CAROLINA.

E. S. writes to the *Tribune*, July 10:

Even now the small garrisons at different points are insufficient to hold in check a class of the old slaveholders—I think they are exceptions to the general rule—who seem determined to retain their old grip upon the laborers. They either intend to "use their service without wages, and give them naught for their work," absolutely, or give them such paltry compensation therefor, as with the loss of all the old franchises, such as free rent, clothes (such as they were), and medical attendance, makes their condition vastly worse than the state of actual Slavery.

If I take the condition of affairs in this city—the centre of the State, where the treatment of the blacks is matter of publicity, and where, being mostly house servants, they would be likely to receive much better treatment than plantation hands—some idea may be formed of the programme which the late owners of the slaves have marked out for themselves.

As to wages, I venture to say not one in ten has been paid a cent of wages since we occupied the place. An old, religious, and faithful servant near me, has spent his life in drudgery for the people who claimed him, his wife, and children as slaves, and who now insist upon allowing him only $5 per month and board, without clothes, at the same time charging him $5 per month rent for the quarters he and his family occupy on the "lot."

They can now get *no medical attendance.* The worthy pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Mr. Croom, informs me that a great deal of sickness prevails in his parish, that the old physicians are sent for, but they won't come. In many instances the case is made worse by promises to come, when they wholly fail to appear, or calling once, never come again. Thus the patient lingers in expectation of medical relief, until his case becomes unmanageable, and he dies for the want of the simplest attention at the proper time.

I continually hear of great mortality among the freed people on the plantations in different parts of the State. The masters lament (?) the unhappy condition of the poor free negroes, but take no pains to get them a physician or procure medicine for them. They think themselves wholly absolved from any of these humane obligations now—the negro is no longer property! If I mistake not, Col. Whittlesey has informed Gen. Howard of the great needs of the freed people of this vicinity for medical attendance and medicines.

One or two *good* physicians who would come to Raleigh, *bringing a stock of drugs and medicines with them,* and devote themselves *wholly to the care of the colored people,* would do a living business *now,* and ultimately establish themselves in a handsome business. These people are *now* able to pay moderately for medical attendance, and will soon be as well, or better, able to maintain good physicians as the white folks. But they should have the best physicians in every respect.

By the mustering out of the 9th Maine, we have obtained a change in the officers commanding this post. Maj. Dyer has been relieved as Provost Marshal, and Capt. J. A. Barrett, Commanding the 48th New York Veteran Volunteers, succeeds him. The change will be welcomed by the colored population who have had little occasion to be thankful for any leniency shown them during Maj. Dyer's administration. It has been no uncommon thing to see negroes tied up by the thumb in the capitol grounds for petty offences, or walking under guard, with their heads protruding through a flour barrel, in the most public streets, wearing a large sign, with the word "thief" displayed in large letters thereon, to the great delight of Rebels. In this case, the culprit was guilty of the heinous offence of picking two or three plums out of a basket in Market st., and charged with saying something impudent to a soldier. The colored people have been knocked down, robbed, and regularly assaulted by scamps wearing the Union uniform in our public places, apparently without any attempt to punish the assailants. The last case of this kind occurred on the 5th instant, when two quiet and inoffensive colored men were set upon near a certain stable, while peaceably passing along the street, and outrageously pummeled with the intention of robbing them. They complained to the Provost Marshal, who took the lying statement of the soldiers that the black men called them hard names, tied up the colored men by the thumbs, and let the guilty white men go free.

—The following resolution, lately adopted at a "Union" meeting, shows that there is need of a good deal of enlightenment down that way before North Carolina is prepared to come back fully into the Union:

"Resolved, That as slavery is indissolubly interwoven with our political and social structure, we would prefer its abolition to be gradual—running from five to ten years—thereby enabling us by wise legislation and timely police regulations to define the relative status of the two races, with a view to the amelioration of the evil resulting from its speedy overthrow, and, furthermore, giving time to each class, both white and colored, to adapt itself to the new order of things."

MISSISSIPPI.

THE NEGROES OF MISSISSIPPI DEMANDING THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.—A mass meeting of the colored citizens of Vicksburg, Miss., was held June 19. Jacob Richardson, of the 49th United States colored infantry, presided. H. Mason was appointed secretary. The chairman set forth the object of the meeting, viz: To discuss the question of civil rights of the colored citizens of Mississippi, and take measures to secure them. Pompey Ketto, Frank Rowan, George W. Walton, Alfred T. Jackson, and T. Richards, were appointed a committee on resolutions. During the absence of the committee the meeting was addressed by the Rev. G. G. Edwards on the civil rights of the colored citizens and soldiers. The Committee on Resolutions reported the following, which was most enthusiastically received:

Whereas, the President of the United States has by proclamation, dated Washington, June 13, 1865, appointed a Provisional Governor for the State of Mississippi, Hon. W. L. Sharkey, and directs that a convention be called and an election held, allowing such only to vote at said election as were allowed to vote under the Constitution and laws of the State of Mississippi as administered before the passage of the so-called ordinance of secession of January 9, 1861, excluding the loyal colored citizens; therefore,

Resolved, That we regard such a policy as unjust to the colored citizens, paralyzing to the colored soldier, and most damaging to the early and peaceful establishment of the Federal supremacy in rebellious territory.

Resolved, That in view of these facts we will appeal to the people of the North, and will earnestly appeal to Congress, that the State of Mississippi be not restored to Federal relations unless by her Constitution she shall enfranchise her loyal colored citizens.

Resolved, That the interests of our people in this State demand at an early day the establishment of a paper within the State that will fearlessly and faithfully defend the rights of the colored citizens.

The resolutions were supported in brief addresses by Messrs. Walton, Rowan, Richardson, and others, and on motion were unanimously adopted.

LOUISIANA.

—THE New Orleans correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune* writes under date July 3:

"The present 'State Government', of Louisiana, under the administration of Gov. Wells, and with a zeal worthy of a better cause, in the name of reform, retrenchment, and purity, are fast removing from office all the appointees of the 'Free State party,' *and placing in power men of a different class, whose policy is hostile to the advancement of the colored population.* The registration of voters is rapidly progressing throughout the State, and I consider that the judges of the election, which will be held next Fall, *will exclude no man from the polls for his relation to the rebellion;* whoever may be rejected, it will be no rebel; all of these are bound to vote. The contest will bring out the entire vote of the State, *and the majority will be strongly opposed to extending the right of suffrage to the negroes.*

"A movement has recently commenced here that will excite great interest throughout the country. At a recent meeting of the 'Radical Republican party,' the following plan was discussed and in part adopted, the object being to meet the opposition noticed above, and to advance the rights and claims of the colored people. A 'Central Committee,' composed of twenty-four members, with Thomas J. Durant, Chairman, was appointed. A constitution, by-laws, etc., were enacted looking to a permanent organization. A very able address to Gov. Wells was prepared, setting forth the claims of the colored people to the rights of suffrage, and calling upon him, in his official capacity, to order a registration of the colored population as well as the white, preparatory to the election of next November. In case of his refusal to comply with this request, he is invited to state his reasons for the same in writing. This action will cause Gov. Wells, who obtained his office as a Free State man, to develop his sentiments, which his recent public policy indicates to be directly hostile to the party called 'Republican.' Failing in obtaining this registration, it is the purpose of the Committee to make a private registration, and as far as practicable hold an election for Congressional Representatives, and send up to Congress the men thus chosen to claim their seats and urge their rights. This private registration and election are to be accomplished by sub-committees in the different parishes and towns, appointed by the central organization. From the character of the men composing this central committee, their intelligence, and zeal, I judge they will carry out their plan to the fullest practicable extent."

This same Gov. Wells recently said:

"Our President, Andrew Johnson, has ever been a Conservative Democrat. In his hands is placed the destiny of this nation, and from him we have nothing to fear, but everything to hope. I bespeak for his administration one of the brightest pages in our history, and under his administration, fellow-citizens, looking to him for protection and taking his policy as our guide, must we organize our State government. Every effort will be made by the radical Abolition party to prevent the return of power to the Conservatives of the South, and all the elements of opposition will combine to prevent their success, and one of their formidable auxiliaries, as they suppose, is to extend the right of suffrage to that class of persons recently put in possession of their freedom. This has been too clearly foreshadowed by the political adventurers who have come among us to have escaped attention.

"This, then, will be a question for your future action, *and if, after having taken this country from the red man, and holding it for more than a century, you have become so charitable as to give it to the black man, I can only submit and bow to the will of the people.* The power granted to the several States by the Constitution of the United States to regulate this question of suffrage is plain to all. It clearly belongs to the people, and I shall abide their decision."

Gen. Hurlbut made a speech at the same time, in which he told the people that if they came up manfully, straightforwardly, and directly to the support of a well-regulated government, "*no small question about suffrage,* or anything else," would deprive them of their rights in the Congress of the United States.

And the *Albany Evening Journal* says:

"Governor Wells, of Louisiana, is getting into very serious trouble with the loyal people of the State. They allege that he has an understanding with the rebels, which makes him a virtual conspirator against the government. Under his direction election enrollments have been made, known to embrace many men exempted from the Amnesty Proclamation. Large contracts recently given out have fallen into the hands of leading rebels. Several prosecutions commenced for civil offences committed during the war, have been prevented by his interference. The negroes are subjected to a continual series of outrages; everything being done, so far as lies within the power of the Executive, to invalidate the emancipation policy, and make their condition less tolerable than when in a state of Slavery. Such are the charges. They are very serious, and demand thorough investigation. Our greatest danger now is from the incompetency or dishonesty of those who are called to high positions in the Southern States. The political defection of Gov. Wells, if it be a fact, will excite profound surprise. He has been a Union man during the war, and as such suffered many serious consequences to his personal interests. It might well be supposed, therefore, that he would be the last man to make an improper arrangement with his own enemies and those of his country. The charges put forward must be regarded simply as the result of spleen and disappointment, were they not sustained by various authorities usually reliable. As it is, we hope there is some mistake—that if Gov. Wells has adopted an indefensible policy, it is through ignorance or inadvertance, and not from absolute design. At all events the matter calls for inquiry. The country has in Congress a safeguard that no scheme to restore the control of Rebels at the South, will be permitted to succeed."

GEN. HERRON'S NEGRO ORDER.

GEN. HERRON, commanding in the Northern Division of Louisiana, has issued a brutal order compelling the blacks of that section to remain on the plantations, on the ground that if they leave the crops will fail and starvation and misery ensue. We quote the material portion of the order:

"It is therefore ordered that all persons heretofore held as slaves remain for the present with their former masters, and by their labor secure the crop of the present season. The only place where they can obtain a living for themselves and their families is in the field, where they have been accustomed to work. If found wandering about the country, or gathering at military posts, they will be arrested and punished, and all transports and private steamboats running on Red River are prohibited from carrying this class of people, except upon a written pass, which will be given only in exceptional cases. If necessary for them to leave home or visit any of the military posts they will be furnished with a pass by their employer to prevent their arrest as vagrants. But while it is found necessary during the present unsettled state of the country to make these orders relative to the blacks, the planters are reminded that the matter depends largely on them, and that only by fair treatment of the hands can they hope to mature and harvest their crops and carry on their plantations.

"Definite contracts must be made with the negroes, which will be binding for the balance of the present season."

CAN THEY TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES?—This question, as applied to the freedmen, receives some light from statements recently made by Chaplain James, of our armies in North Carolina. He says there were in the Beaufort about three thousand blacks, and nearly the same number of whites. Of the former between three and four hundred were applicants for Government aid; of the latter from twelve to fourteen hundred. The same statement might be made of Newbern and other places where a comparison could be instituted. In the last mentioned place there was scarcely a trade or a profession in which the negroes were not represented. As to how they were getting along, we copy the following very interesting statements:

"In order to obtain some facts upon which I might estimate the amount of earnings to be credited to these free and freed people, I posted a handbill in Newbern, requesting such colored people as were not employed by Government, but were pursuing some trade, profession, or calling on their own account, to report at my office the amount of their income or earnings during the year 1864. The result will interest the friends of the negro, and indicate their ability to support themselves.

"Three hundred and five persons, nearly all males, made returns in response to my request, reporting a gross amount of one hundred and fifty-one thousand five hundred and sixty-two dollars ($151,562).

"The number reporting

From $500 to $1,000 income was	110
Upward of $1,000 income was	18
Upward of $2,000 income was	4
Upward of $3,000 income was	2

"The largest income reported was $3,150. This was derived from the turpentine business, as indeed were most of the larger incomes reported, which varied from $300 to more than $3,000. The average of all the incomes reported is $496 92—a trifle short of $500."—*Boston Journal.*

GERMAN MUSICAL FESTIVAL.—The 9th Allgemeine Saengerfest (National convocation of German singers) met in this city on the 16th inst. Delegates are present from all parts of the country. At midnight, on the 15th, the New York Societies received the delegates in the City Hall Park, and after a song of welcome, and an address by Mayor Gunther, a torchlight procession was formed, and the guests were marched to the Germania Assembly Rooms, where a bountiful collation was served to over 1,200 persons, the honorary President welcoming the guests in a neat address, in which he tendered them the hand of fellowship. The Saengerfest will last nearly a week, and a monster festival will be held at Jones' Wood during the stay of the visitors in this city.

The first concert took place Sunday evening at the Academy of Music, one hundred instrumentalists in the orchestra, and one thousand voices in the chorus. Liszt's *Les Preludes*, the grand chorus from the *Templar and the Jewess* by Marschner, and Mendelssohn's *Walpurgis-

Miscellaneous Department.

ONE AND ALL.

How yearns the solitary soul
To melt into the boundless whole,
And find itself again in peace.
The blind desire, the impatient will,
The restless thoughts and plans are still;
We yield ourselves—and wake in bliss.

World-Spirit, come, our spirits firing!
For evermore to thee aspiring,
We but obey our nature's call.
Good angels feeding persuade us,
And Heaven-taught masters gently lead us
To Him who made and maketh all.

To re-create the old creation,
All things work on in fast rotation,
Lest aught grow fixed, and change resist;
And what was not shall spring to birth,
As purest sun, or painted earth.
God's universe may know no rest.

It must go on, creating, changing,
Through endless shapes forever ranging;
And rest we only seem to see.
The Eternal lives through all revolving;
For all must ever keep dissolving,
Would it continue still to be.

GOETHE.

SOCIAL SCIENCE IN THE KITCHEN.

From the Saturday Review.

THERE is something indescribably soothing in the process of "ventilating" a social evil—we do not use this last term in its recognized technical sense—by the easy process of reading a paper. The satisfaction which arises from it can be compared to no other form of pleasure. It seems to reach every weak point of human nature with a power of penetration quite its own. To compose a paper on a social evil is, in the first place, gratifying to one's feelings of brotherly love and philanthropy. It fills the mind with the sweet conviction that you are doing good in the world. Then the pleasure of securing a number of people to listen to your speculations, and perhaps to discuss them with deference, is immensely flattering to that vanity which is always so conspicuous in those who have the least to be vain about. The audience is generally sympathetic and admiring, because composed mostly of people who have papers of their own to read; and who act therefore on the sound maxim that one good turn deserves another. And there is the delicious prospect, moreover, of finding a leading article on one's views in what is called, for some inexplicable reason, the "leading journal." You may previously have been scarcely satisfied with the style and tone of your paper, but all misgivings disappear on finding to what washy and diluted stuff the *Times* can manage to reduce the same arguments. But the supreme gratification of reading papers is that they cost nothing, except a little time, which the writer probably knew no better means of filling up. It is not in the least necessary that you should have got a practical mastery of the subject to be handled, or have given any deep thought to its principles or its details. A profuse sprinkling of large general phrases, with no meaning in particular, such as "the great social revolution now in progress," "the moral wants of the time," "the spiritual transformation of the nineteenth century," and so on, more than compensates for any lack of knowledge or available suggestions. Such superb terms are as inexpressibly comforting to the socially scientific as "Mesopotamia" was to the devout old woman of the story. They diffuse a warm glow of self-complacency through the soul that is quite incomparable. They are the Old Tom of the mind. True, Old Tom may be drunk in excess; and perhaps there is such a thing as a debauch on social science and big phrases. However that may be, we know no more thoroughly satisfactory, and at the same time economical, treat to a fussy person of a philanthropic turn of mind than to write and read papers about social evils. Somehow or other, ladies seem to have found this out much more completely than men have. Perhaps it is because they have more time to spare for this inimitable diversion, or it may be that their charming impulsiveness and enthusiasm render them more independent of the practical considerations to which most men over twenty and under seventy are accustomed to look.

It is to a lady that the world is indebted for attention being once more called to the troublesome questions connected with "domestic service." A large assemblage met at St. James's Hall to hear her paper read, as well as to listen to a speech from a very popular bishop on the great servant-gal question. Unhappily, the popular bishop could not attend, so they were forced to content themselves with that particularly strong-minded and judicious nobleman, the Marquis Townshend. The paper was exactly what such papers invariably are. It began with the usual talk about "moral and social aspects," and the necessity of conducting the discussion in a fair and kindly spirit; and it ended with the almost as usual exhortation to mothers and wives to leave their frivolous and unprofitable occupations and take to social science and the regeneration of society. Employers ought to be more unanimous in their way of dealing with troublesome servants. Servants ought to be more candid, and, instead of abusing their masters and mistresses behind their backs, should remonstrate with them to their faces. A committee of practical people should combine to set up a registry office on grand principles. Master and servant should cooperate. Then Mr. Hastings got up, and said that the reason why servants are so bad is the employment of women as navvies and brickmakers. "One way of remedying the evil now complained of was to remove women from such degrading occupations, and give them the natural and genial employment of domestic servants." This is an immensely sensible notion. Female servants are slovenly, and lazy, and dirty, and thankless, because a few hundred women in Staffordshire have to work in brick-yards. On the same principle, a footman is impudent and dishonest, we suppose, because young men are employed in the "degrading occupation" of showing bonnets and measuring muslins in Regent street or Piccadilly. Surely, much social science doth make men mad. A clergyman next got up, and said that "he had been a married man for nearly thirty years, and had never had occasion to dismiss a servant." The first fact was exceedingly interesting in itself, but are we to infer that only married men keep servants? It was interesting, too, but scarcely to the point, to learn that he was so well pleased with his servants when in France that he had asked them to accompany him to England, "and they were at the present moment a part of his domestic establishment." Then Mr. Chadwick, with a bright burst of originality, said that children ought to be sent to school, and then they would grow up to be good servants. He "attributed great results to training children in schools; it taught them order, obedience, and patience." If the orator had been addressing an audience in Whitechapel, this might have been more suitable; as it was, it seemed slightly superfluous to inform a meeting principally composed of ladies that education produces great results in forming the character of children.

After the subject had been thus powerfully and exhaustively discussed, the proceedings were brought to a close by a resolution which is probably the sublimest thing of the kind in existence: "That the subject of domestic service being one of vast importance, in a moral and social point of view, it is incumbent on all that have regard for the welfare of the community to do what lies in their power to assist in remedying the evils which have been now under consideration." We are delighted to be able to state that this resolution, so pointed, so full of meaning, so beautifully practical, was unanimously agreed to. Society will doubtless speedily begin to realize the beneficent results of this admirable resolve. It is to be hoped that the same effective method may be applied to other social evils besides servants. For instance, the practice of not paying what we owe abounds in momentous moral and social aspects. A paper upon the subject might be readily composed on the regulation principles exemplified in the case before us. The writer would beg that debtors and creditors should discuss the subject in a fair and kindly spirit. Creditors ought to be more unanimous as to the length of time and the amount of indulgence they give. Debtors ought to be more candid. Debtor and creditor should cooperate. Mr. Chadwick would then, with just the same appropriateness, remark that people should be sent to school; education produces wonderful results; it teaches people thrift and punctuality. Finally, the pattern resolution would do perfectly well for this as for all other possible occasions. The meeting would unanimously agree that everybody who professes any regard for the welfare of the community should do what in him lies to assist in remedying the evils of owing money. It would be utterly a work of supererogation to point out with precision either what the evils are or what seem to be the most efficient remedies. The talking of twaddle and the passing of inane resolutions constitute a process which is quite complete in itself. People could not feel more deliciously happy if they had really done something towards removing the evils which they have been so glibly talking about. The cup of their bliss would be too full if anything were ever actually to come of their proceedings. It would, indeed, be unfair if the people who talk were also to carry off the satisfaction of the people who work. After all, the introduction of the great principle of the division of labor into these matters is a very fine thing. The anonymous authoress of the paper, and Mr. Chadwick, and Mr. Hastings, and the audience, are probably doing the best they can by passing resolutions. We others may be content with trying practically to give servants as little cause to complain as possible, and enduring all the discomforts which they inflict upon us with as much resignation and patience as we can command.

Dress and followers seem to be the chief grievances against domestic servants, and it is difficult to tell in which point people generally show most ignorance of human nature. "The secret respecting dress," said the writer of the paper, "consisted in a desire to appear to be something or somebody that they are not; and this, again, sprang from the disrepute in which service was held in the estimation of the class." Just as if servants were the only people who like fine feathers. The gorgeous bonnet or boundless crinoline has just the same attractions for a housemaid as corresponding fineries have for her mistress. The love of grand clothes has no more connection with a servant's desire to pass herself off as a "Marchioness" than the love of strong drink would have. Grand clothes set her off, and as she thinks, add to her personal attractiveness. Surely the desire to look nice is in itself an adequate explanation of a servant's finery, without presuming that she has a snobbish dislike to be thought what she is. Perhaps, as a matter of fact, the poor damsel, in her glaring colors and Brummagen ornaments, instead of looking nice, to a fastidious eye looks uncommonly nasty. And a man must have a very Quixotic attachment to the liberty of the subject who would prevent his wife from interfering to repress any particularly odious display on the part of a servant. Considering that a servant is paid for doing certain duties—and among these duties is obviously included a reasonable regard to the tastes and wishes of her employers—there can be no harshness in requiring that a very pardonable love of fine dresses and bonnets should be kept within moderate bounds. Sensible and kindly people seldom find any difficulty in checking anything like a monstrous excess in these respects. Only, many persons are filled with the notion that a housemaid should dress like a Quakeress, and a shabby Quakeress into the bargain. Of course, people of this kind naturally find themselves involved in eternal conflicts with the worldly vanity of a spruce cook or maid. The great grievance of followers is much the same as the grievance of gay apparel. A weakness for having a follower is kindred to the passion for smart clothes. In itself it is not any more shameful or surprising; but, just like finery, followers may be made horrible bores to the master and mistress of the house. The writer of the paper thought that, on this point, "some consideration was due to servants, but under carefully considered conditions." This view is not altogether so luminous or precise as it might be, and apparently the writer thinks that a code of conditions might be drawn up which would be universally applicable and appropriate. The fact is, that every household must have its own laws on these matters. One man might not object to see his servants clad in purple and fine linen, or to know that they had a follower apiece, who nightly discussed himself and his income, and his prospects and his general conduct, in his own kitchen. Another thinks finery and followers only other names for theft and unchastity. One cannot lay down a law on such points. Every master, so long as he pays his servant wages, may justly claim attention to his wishes; if they are fair and reasonable he will probably get a kind of approximation to what he wants, and if they are not he does not deserve it. The only possible rule for the master or mistress is summed up in the single word, considerateness. And let them be as considerate as they will, they need not be surprised to find that servants are constantly ready to thwart and annoy them. Only a very small number ever go into service with the intention of sticking to it for life and making a regular business of it. They are taken, as a rule, from the classes whose sense of moral obligation is the very dullest and most torpid possible. Their gratitude for kindness shown them is strictly bounded by their chance of bettering themselves. In practice, therefore, the employer is likely to get on most smoothly who treats his servants considerately and kindly, but with so much and such sort of kindness as is due to his own self-respect rather than to their merits.

The *Times*, with a silliness that even in that question is almost incredible, insists that the clergy are at fault because servants are unprincipled, and so on. There is work to be done in the servant's hall, cries our instructor; let the clergy cease their vain theological arguings, and go down there. Of all imaginable remedies this is the most preposterous. The curate is the very last kind of follower whom the British householder would choose to see in his kitchen. Besides, in what sense is there more work to be done among servants than among their masters and mistresses, or among the destitute poor, or among comfortable tradesmen? Is there any reason for supposing that servants are more neglected by their spiritual pastors and teachers than other people? The sum of the whole matter seems to be this. If a man is sufficiently well off to be able to pay high wages, he can secure skilled and efficient servants, who will do their work well and remain with him just as long as it suits their interest or caprice, and not an hour longer. If he cannot pay high wages, he will have to put up with more discomfort; but if his wife happens to be a sensible woman she may train up her servants to any height of efficiency, with the consolatory assurance that, as soon as she has trained them to a certain excellence, they will instantly leave her for some other place with higher wages. It is not very comforting to recognize this, but no amount either of social science or clerical ministrations can make any difference in it.

SIGNBOARDS AND VICTOR HUGO.

A CURIOUS volume, which has been a long time in preparation, is now approaching completion. Its title is the "History of Signboards, Ancient and Modern, with Anecdotes of Famous Taverns and Remarkable Characters." Upwards of 400 pages of interesting particulars and anecdotes have already been printed, and a great many drawings of old signs have been made for the work. Such signboard oddities as the "Bull and Last," "Elephant and Friar," "Bull and Two Calves," with hundreds of other tavern decorations, will receive, we are assured, full elucidation. If the author has not already bagged it, he is welcome to the following anecdote, which very recently was an item of gossip in Brussels. One morning, a few weeks since, an elderly and respectable gentleman might have been seen on the Place de l'Hotel de Ville gazing with much curiosity at a sign over a tobacconist's. The words which excited his surprise were. "Au Petit Gavroche." Looking first on the sign and then at the number of the house, he said to the friend who was with him: "I really don't understand that; it certainly was here!" Without more consideration he entered, and, speaking to an elderly lady, said: "I beg pardon, madam, but have you resided in this house very long?" "No, monsieur, we have only been here about two years." "May I ask why you took that sign? and, if I am not too inquisitive, do you know M. Victor Hugo?" "I do not? but I know little Gavroche, for I have read 'Les Miserables.'" "Did you like the book?" "Indeed I did, for I, too, belong to the people. I have seen barricades, and I have been in prison for political opinion's sake." From incidents in her career she turned aside to her political opinions, which were ultra Red Republican. On concluding a long list of these—for the subject was a favorite one, and her listener was very attentive—the gentleman held out his hand to her, saying: "Madame, allow me to shake hands with you as a friend. I am the father of little Gavroche." It was Victor Hugo. His astonishment upon seeing his little hero's name on a sign was doubled by its hanging on the house in which he commenced writing "Les Miserables." The story has probably grown in the telling, but the editor of the *Independence Belge* will be able to give the facts.

WHAT A WOMAN WOULD DO IF SHE COULD.—Mrs. Caroline H. Dall writes to the Boston *Advertiser:*

"If I were wealthy, I would immediately establish a school to teach poor rough women to wash common clothes well, and to clean house without doing mischief, at fifty cents a day and their board. At this price, far better than these women now earn, hundreds of mechanics' families in every large town would hire at least two days' work a week. Then I would train a class of girls to mend furniture, to repair veneering, to put on bolts, locks, etc., to hang windows and set glass. The farmers' wives in the country do these things themselves. They would gladly pay to have them done. Of the more skilled workers, would not you and I be glad to find a deft, tidy woman, who could hang paper, paint mock boards, patch broken graining, clean brasses or silver to its very best? Could not some women, like some men in France, make a profession of the packing of trunks, of china, pictures, books and so on? Oh, there are plenty of ways to help them, if you but believe the help possible."

THE ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH.

From the London Times, June 30.

SINCE the Great Eastern has been removed from Sheerness, all the final arrangements for her great undertaking have been pushed forward to the utmost, and in the course of another few days she will be in a condition to start, though it is not probable that she will really move to sea before the 9th or 10th of July. She is now anchored in the Channel, about seven miles below the Nore, swinging freely to the wind and tide, held only by a single six-ton Trotman anchor, and having a *minimum* depth of eight fathoms under her at low water. Since she has been removed from her old berth in the Medway the work of coaling her to the utmost has been steadily going forward. Half of her extra supply of 1,500 tons is already aboard, and the rest will be stowed away by the end of next week. With all her weights she will then draw a little over 33½ feet, though with very nearly 24,000 tons on board. This comparatively slight immersion gives the best idea of her immense size, as a line-of-battle ship of only 2,500 tons draws seldom less than 28½ feet, and very often 30 feet. Before leaving her mooring in the Medway, divers were sent down to examine the bottom of the ship, and they reported her tolerably clean, except from mussels, which will all drop off before she reaches Dover. The approaching voyage, however, is one of the very few when extreme foulness of the ship's bottom would be by no means a disadvantage, as it will be rather difficult than otherwise to keep the Great Eastern at the low rate of steaming required to pay out the cable with perfect safety. To insure this, only the screw engines will be used on the voyage, the paddle engines being simply kept with banked-up fires in readiness for use on the port or starboard sides in case of a beam wind on either quarter necessitating an assistance to the great ship's steerage way. Her crew will be about 200 men, and the full complement of all on board, including cable hands, staff of electricians, engineers, etc., a little over 300. Mr. Glasse starts with the massive shore-end for Ireland early next week. This enormous solid portion of the cable goes in a special vessel, and will be submerged from Valentia to a distance of 25 miles from the shore on Monday, the 10th. The end at sea will be buoyed to wait the Great Eastern's arrival; that on shore will be put in communication with the wires of the International and Magnetic Companies, which already give through communication to Valentia. When the Great Eastern arrives and the splice is completed, her voyage will instantly commence, a fine steamer, called the Hawk, accompanying her for a distance of some 30 or 40 miles. In this steamer will be the Directors of the Company and a few invited guests, but absolutely none not connected with the business of laying the cable will be allowed on board the Great Eastern. Twice a day, in the morning and in the evening, signals will be sent through from the ship to Valentia, stating where the vessel is, etc., and these will be regularly transmitted direct to London. Anything, therefore, occurring on board the ship will be instantly known in England, while, on the other hand, anything going wrong with the cable itself will be as quickly ascertained—not alone from the cessation of signals, but from the tests that can be applied to the end at Valentia.

The paying-out machine is being fixed up on board the ship, and the leading trough has also been completed along the deck. This latter is a plain timber frame, supporting a semi-circular trough of iron, down which the cable is drawn by the paying-out machine, the friction of its passage sufficing to keep it "taut," and obviate all chance of "kinks" entering the machine. All three tanks containing the cable have now been completely filled with water, and the wire, in fact, is as much submerged now as it will be at the bottom of the Atlantic—with this difference, that the pressure of the immense depths of the ocean will materially improve the condition of the cable by the compression of the gutta-percha. In these three tanks the temperature and quantity of water are kept precisely equal, and a series of electrical tests have been taken for the last three days, and will be continued for five days more, in order, from the results of all, to obtain a standard of what the condition of the cable should be while paying out. The contents of the three tanks—that is, the entire length of 2,500 miles of cable—have now been coupled up, and signals are sent through morning and evening. These signals show the insulation and conductivity of the wire to be almost absolutely perfect, even in an electrical sense. Thus, even with the rough instruments, a message of four words was sent through yesterday in a minute and a quarter. The Company, however, believe they have succeeded in designing instruments which can more than double this rate of signalling. But even taking the four words in a minute as a fair standard, the yield of profit from such a wire, at the rate of £2 per word, which we believe is to be the charge, would be immense, and, allowing for repeats and service signals, amount to more than a million annually. Certainly all that science and skill can do has been done for the cable, and everything now depends on moderately fair weather for the voyage. If that additional good fortune should only be vouchsafed to the undertaking, hourly communication with the most distant regions of North America may be confidently looked for on the 28th of July next.

BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE House of Commons consists of 656 members, viz.: For England, 498; for Ireland, 105; for Scotland, 53. According to the census of 1851, the population of England and Wales was 20,000,000, and of that number 5,000,000 were male adults. Well, out of that number, only 800,000 were represented, leaving 4,200,000 non-represented. These figures I quote from Mr. Baines, in the House of Commons, on the 4th of May last. Thus the Constitution only recognizes one male adult in five as possessing any political rights. In the House of Commons, supposed to represent the people, the landed interest claims 253 seats; the army and navy, 97; the law, 59; the laborer, be heartisan or ploughman, *not one.* Three hundred and forty-seven seats are filled by the sons of peers, or their nominees. It is therefore indisputable that the constitutional rights and interests of the working classes depend wholly on the good-nature or sense of justice or policy of their so-called "superiors." Their political position is inferior to that of their fellow-countrymen in the British colonies—to that which you propose to elevate the American slave of yesterday to. This they know and are dissatisfied with. They want an extension of the franchise amounting to universal suffrage and the ballot. It is computed that out of 800,000 voters in England and Wales, 450,000 are subject either to bribery or coercion, leaving the conscientious voters as a minority. Equalization of electoral districts is likewise imperatively necessary to secure any fair balance of representation. At present the voter in a small borough often possesses the influence of fifty in a large one. Thus Buckinghamshire contains four boroughs, each one sending two members, and three members for the county—in all 11 members. But the population of the whole county is not so large as that of Manchester, which has only two members! Then in the adjoining county of Bedford, which possesses but four, two for Bedford and two for the county, one of its towns has no representative! And glancing at the tax returns you discover the same monstrous anomalies. £4,800 has three times the power of £90,000, and £50,000 more (political!) value than £2,200,000. And so much for the necessity of a more fair and equal distribution of seats in Parliament.—*London Correspondent N. Y. Tribune.*

CLARKSON'S BIRTHPLACE AND RESIDENCE.—We give the following note on a point about which there seem to be differences of opinion among the learned in such matters: "In the notes on Mr. Walter White's 'Eastern England,' Thomas Clarkson is described as 'a Suffolk man.' I was well acquainted with Thomas Clarkson and his family, and I always understood that he was a native of Wisbeach. When the more active labors connected with the Legislative Abolition of the Slave Trade were terminated, Thomas Clarkson lived, I believe, for a few years, on the banks of Ullswater. He then came to Suffolk (a county with which he had long been connected in various ways), and passed the last thirty years of his life at Playford Hall, near Ipswich. His remains are interred in the churchyard at Playford. The mistake which I have pointed out has arisen probably from the long residence in Suffolk.—A. B. G.—(*London*) *Athenæum.*

A WORD FOR BOSTON.—The following is from the correspondence of the New York *Tribune:* "We must acknowledge that in certain things Boston is immeasurably in advance of us. It can boast of an audience that knows how to be quiet; that knows oratorio music so well that it can detect the slightest variation from the text, and that has the courage to hiss those who outrage good taste, or are pretentious without merit. It can boast of citizens who will advance $25,000 for the mere purpose of a musical festival. It can boast of the finest music hall in the country, the largest choral society, the grandest foreign organ, and the largest and best native organ. It can also boast of the largest piano forte manufactory perhaps in the world, the largest organ factory in America, and the largest music publishing house."

A PRE-RAPHAELITE PICTURE AND CRITIC.

[The Fortieth Annual Exhibition of the National Academy of Design in New York is closed, but this criticism of one of the pictures that hung in it is fresh now, and will be a year hence, for it treats of what is perennial in art—truth; and it is by CLARENCE COOK.]

IF we have left Mr. Moore's picture until the last, it is very far from being because it is the least in the Exhibition. On the contrary, it is one of the three pictures in the collection which take precedence of all the others. These three—Eastman Johnson's "Christmas-time," Griswold's "Winter Morning," and Moore's "Cattskill Valley"—if there were a power in the Academy to award Medals of Honor which should be worth striving for, as representing an impartial testimony to indisputable merit from a source entitled to respect, would have to be crowned by acclamation. There are no competitors within sight.

Mr. Moore's picture does good service in a direction where that service was greatly needed. It is at once an admirable illustration and a powerful defence of that method of study which is much sneered at and ridiculed—chiefly, we are very willing to believe, because it is not understood—under the name of "Pre-Raphaelite," but which it would be much more sensible to call the "naturalistic" or "realistic" method. Its peculiarity consists, simply, in the patient study of Nature for the sake of thoroughly understanding her, and of reporting her truly. The very head and front of Pre-Raphaelite offending hath this extent, no more. Here is a small painting which occupied the whole industrious summer of a young man who thought no work that he could do more important than to learn all he could of this lovely valley, and record all that the bright months taught him, as accurately as he was able. And the picture is signed all over with truth. We know not which portion of it to choose for praise, for the delicacy of execution, the quiet truth telling, the evidence of study, go everywhere, hand in hand with refinement of feeling, sympathy with Nature, and the love of God's handiwork which clearly makes it no toil to labor for the sake of showing men how beautiful that handiwork is. The springing corn in this upland field, so truly, delicately painted that the eye comes back to it, again and again; the new-born mulleins laying their soft leaves against the breast of their mother earth; the cart-path, little used, between whose ruts the mulleins, plantains, and grass dispute the right of way; the old gate, opening into the orchard whose trees show their sun-flecked stems and slender sprays of this year's growth above the bounding wall moss-grown and lichen starred—all these things are worth looking at long; 'tis impossible to enjoy their beauty fully without being drawn to search for the original of that beauty in Nature herself.

But there is more in the picture than this foreground holds, tempting as its truth and beauty are. Let the eye roam all over these valley farms, these fields in tilth and meadow, these houses bowered in trees—then rest, and study those horizon-guarding fortress hills basking in the sun: see how the long lines across their front record in ineffaceable characters the story of the subsidence of the great lake that once filled the basin, until to-day it is reduced to this singing brook that winds along in sun and shadow to meet the ampler stream.

We have spoken of this small work all along as "a picture;" but Mr. Moore calls it "a study." And why? It is getting to be very common, now-a-days, to call every small, unfinished painting, every scratchy scrawl with the lead pencil, every blotted memorandum with water-colors, "a study." So it is common to find in our houses a room which is called "the study"—a place where the master of the house keeps his boots and slippers, his fishing-rod and gun, his writing desk stuffed with old bills and letters, and, chiefest treasure, a comfortable easy old couch where he can take an after-dinner nap without fearing to be caught by a visitor—a place, in short, which is called "the study" for the reason, probably, that it is the one spot in the house where no study is ever by any chance done; and so these slight unsubstantial sketches are called "studies," we suppose, because they have never cost their makers a half hour of anything like real study.

Not so with this of Mr. Moore's. It could never have been produced without long-continued, patient, intelligent, and affectionate study. Study, too, for a well defined and elevated purpose. And such study did, indeed, produce it. Study, but not drudgery. Labor, but labor moved and sustained by love. Drudgery tires the hand and tires the brain, and the work that is born of it is dull, inanimate, joyless. But labor which a man performs because it brings him an ardently desired good is wings to the feet and light in the darkest place and strength which moves mountains and a courage that laughs at dangers and a hope that makes doubt ridiculous. On such wings our artist has played, bird-like, over these hills and fields; fresh strength and courage and hope have made that a light task to him which even to the eyes of the lazy and incompetent is an affliction; an achievement so intolerable that they overflow into disingenuous print about it, and are made so melancholy by the transparent truthfulness of it that they cannot sleep until they have indulged themselves in a little untruthfulness as a balm to their wounded self-esteem.

But will not the unprejudiced public, or that portion of it that cares for pictures, look thoughtfully at every picture of Mr. Moore's, and remembering that they are good examples of what they hear derided as Pre-Raphaelite, acknowledge that there is something more in this method of study than can be produced by the mere toil of mechanic hands; and that those who defend and uphold it are not a clique of mutual admirers, but are pleading for a cause that is founded on nature, on common sense, on Truth?—*Tribune.*

THE BONES OF DANTE.

From the (London) Athenæum.

THE discovery of Dante's bones, twelve days after the celebration of his tercentenary birthday, has created no small sensation and delight in Italy. In the year 1677, Cardinal Pogetta, of Ravenna, expressed his intention of having Dante's bones, being those of a heretic, taken from the coffin and burned. The archbishop, less of a bigot than the cardinal, and a sincere admirer of the poet, had the remains secretly excavated and concealed in another part of the church. When the danger was over the archbishop died, and Dante's remains were not replaced in the original coffin. A few years more, and the grave in which they had been concealed was forgotten. The *Gazette delle Romagne* gives the following account of the discovery. On the occasion of the festival, the town council had ordered some improvements to be made at the gravestone of the poet; this made some digging necessary between a building called Braccios Forte and the chapel in which Dante's sarcophagus stood.

When the workmen tried to fix a pump, in order to get rid of the superfluous water, and broke down an old wall of Braccio Forte, they discovered in this very wall a wooden box, which fell to the ground. The box was ninety centimetres in length and thirty-three centimetres in height, but being made of deal and badly joined, it opened in the fall and the bones fell out. The box had two latin inscriptions written with a pen. The inscription on the outside was, "*Dantis ossa a me Fra Antonio Santi hic posita, anno* 1677, *die..... Octobris.*" The inscription inside is "*Dantis ossa de nuper revisa* 3 *Junii* 1677." It has been found that this Dr. Santi was the secretary of the Brothers of St. Francesco, the church bordering on Dante's tomb. In 1700, Santi became guardian. The bones are well preserved; it is evident that they have never been under ground. Nothing is wanting but a piece of the lower jaw. A protocol has been taken in presence of the magistrate of this discovery; the bones have been replaced in the box, this one locked into another box, and deposited for the present in the Dante Chapel.

THE TEN THOUSANDTH GRAVE.—Intelligence has just reached this city of the death in a rebel prison of Francis W. Eaton, a member of the Fifteenth Regiment, and well known to many of our citizens. He was taken prisoner at the battle of the Wilderness, in May, 1864, and was so completely shut out of the civilized world in that horrible sty of Andersonville that his friends, as in many another case, became uncertain as to his fate. It is just ascertained that he died Sept. 29, 1864, and that his grave is numbered 10,000.—*Worcester Spy.*

POLITE WRITING IN ENGLAND.—Much interest is felt here in political circles in the demand for an indemnity for the damages done by the Alabama, which the Yankee Cabinet has had the insolence to present to the British government. I am ashamed to have to write it, but the truth must be told—the conviction is strong that our Ministers will pay the money, though knowing well that not a sixpence of it is legally or morally due. This conviction of the French is based on the fact that Lord Russell is the most incapable and most cowardly Foreign Minister England ever had, and that the Parliament and the people (how fallen are they from their high estate) will continue to tolerate his incapacity and to accept his cowardice. I not long since heard a French Minister say, with a sarcastic smile, "I suppose there is a point of degradation at which your Ministers will think resistance necessary; but, I confess, I cannot at present see it!" In this remark there is undoubted truth, and so we must look for what the French see clearly—national disgrace in the American business equal to that which we endured in the Danish.—*Paris correspondence of the London Press.*

AMERICAN NOMS DE PLUME.

THE use of *noms de plume* appears to be getting more and more in vogue; and, whether modesty or shame inspire the fashion, it promises to reach a point where we soon shall know as little about the authorship of newspaper and magazine articles as of the anonymous Review articles whose writers maintain so studied a secrecy. Will it then be any sin if I lift the veil from a few literary privacies of this sort and enable those who are interested in the popular literature of the day to call their favorite authors by a real name, instead of one that is assumed? The much mystified readers of "Rutledge" may as well know, for instance, that its author is Miss Miriam Coles; the "New Gospel of Peace" was written by Richard Grant White, who is coming to be known as "Shakespeare's Scholar." Orpheus C. Kerr (office-seeker) is Robert H. Newell; Artemus Ward is Charles F. Browne; Carl Benson is Charles A. Bristed; Marion Harland is Mrs. Virginia Terhune; Irenæus is Rev. Dr. S. I. Prime; Jeems Pipes, Stephen C. Massett; Howard Glyddon, Laura C. Redden; Fanny Fern, Mrs. J. C. Parton; Doesticks, Fanny Fern's son-in-law, is Mortimer Thompson; Jennie June, Mrs. Jennie Croly; the Country Parson, Rev. Dr. A. K. H. Boyd; Miles O'Reilly, Col. Charles G. Halpine; K. N. Pepper, James M. Morris; Barry Gray,—Coffin; the Lounger, of Harper's, Geo. Wm. Curtis; Mr. Sparrowgrass, F. S. Cozzens; Ik Marvel, Donald G. Mitchell; Occasional, of the Philadelphia Press, John W. Forney; Burleigh, Matthew H. Smith; Perley and Raconteur, Major Ben Perley Poor; Malakoff, of the N. Y. Times, Dr. Johnson; Mace Sloper, C. G. Leland; Josh Billings, A. W. Shaw; Timothy Titcomb, Dr. J. G. Holland; Gail Hamilton, Miss Abigail E. Dodge; McArone, George Arnold; Mrs. Partington, B. P. Shillaber; Ned Buntline, E. Z. C. Judson; Edmund Kirke, J. R. Gilmore; John Phœnix, the late Captain Derby; Oliver Optic is the nom de plume of a Boston school teacher; and scores of other writers hide themselves behind masks which their readers would be glad to see removed.—*Nor' Wester, in the Boston Post.*

[And the *Evening Post* adds that Nor' Wester himself is Mr. Frank W. Ballard of New York.]

NOBILITY'S NOBLE DEED.

SOME years ago, when commenting upon some transaction, the nature of which we now forget, we took occasion to say that the Marquis of Westminster, who owns that part ("the west and worst") of London, called "Belgravia," from his family name, was about the meanest gentleman in England. He certainly is the richest, his income being estimated at $10,000 a day—which is steadily increasing by the falling-in of leases in London. We have to take back the condemnation. Though this modern Cræsus may continue to dine at the Reform Club in the dog-days, rather than incur the cost of having a fire lighted on which to grill his mutton-chop in Upper Grosvenor street, he is preparing land for a public park and recreation grounds, as a gift to the inhabitants of Chester, that fine old city—one of the most curious in its architecture in Europe—which fortunately is within a short distance of Eaton Hall, his principal country residence, and, Windsor Castle excepted, one of the most palatial dwellings in England. This gift, it is estimated will cost $250,000, and probably more. It would be a noble present from a monarch, and comes handsomely from the rich neighbor of the people of Chester.

In return, they are resolved, it is said, to reelect Earl Grosvenor, eldest son and heir of the now-generous Marquis, and to bear him free of all expense in the contest. His Lordship, who has represented Chester in Parliament since 1847, would probably not meet with any effective opposition in a city where his family own very many houses. But the resolve, at any rate, to reelect him, free of cost, speaks well for Chester and for the Marquis. We rejoice that, in this instance, high rank and great wealth are accompanied by thoughtful generosity; for, of all good things that a city can have—next to clean streets, good sewerage, and abundance of water—a public park is the best.

RECEIPTS OF NEW YORK NEWSPAPERS, for the quarter year, on which there is a tax of 3 per cent., are as follows, the returns being for three months each:

Times—September, $49,760; December, $77,556; March, $65,958.
Tribune—$47,677, $70,400, $62,597.
World—$33,557, $38,326, $44,718.
Post—$52,723, $38,891, $65,212.
Commercial—$14,986, $16,015, $24,872.
Journal of Commerce—January, February, and March, $44,228.
Albion—$1,778, $1,501, $1,305.
Army and Navy Journal—$2,189, $1,849, $2,900.
American Agriculturist—$3,790, $4,092, $10,981.
Atlas—$1,788, $1,393, $1,330.
Belletristischer Journal—$1,646, $1,377, $1,681.
Bankers' Magazine—December, $1,236, March, $1,549.
Clipper—$2,185, $3,306, $2,998.
Church Journal—September to February, $1,674.
Daily News—$18,953, $11,928, $9,897.
Dispatch—$5,240, $6,754, $6,661.
Demokrat—$4,546, $7,915, $6,603.
Day Book—July to March, $1,742.
Evangelist—$3,159, $2,934, $4,474.
Express—$14,527, $13,876, $20,400.
Examiner and Chronicle—March, $3,741.
Harper's Weekly—$15,554, $16,050, $16,264.
House Journal—$2,056, $3,068, $2,811.
Insurance Gazette—December, $800.
Irish American—$879, $868, $1,005.
Independent—$23,871, $17,543, $22,551.
Leader—$1,242, $2,254,—Assessed $3,000.
Observer—$5,201, $5,509, $11,634.
Programme—$1,589, $1,463, $978.
Scottish American Journal—$526, $721, $540.
Sunday Times—September, $2,437.
Scientific American—$1,046, $1,569, $1,507.
Shipping & Commercial List—$8,671, $367, $9,543.
Staats Zeitung—$14,860, 23,920, $19,230.
Sunday Mercury—$6,779, $7,053, $6,565.
Sun—$23,519, $23,161, $24,502.
Wilkes's Spirit—Assessed, $300, $800, $2,000.

HOW A NEGRO STAID IN A CAR.—Some days ago a lady of Germantown, who was about stepping into an Eleventh street car down town to ride up to Eleventh and Green, saw Stephen Smith, a very respectable and wealthy colored person on the sidewalk who was on his way a foot to the same destination. She invited him to get in also, but he declined on the ground that the conductor would not allow him. She insisted, and he got in. No sooner, however, was he inside than the conductor ordered him out. The lady told the condutor peremptorily that he should not get out. The conductor said the rules of the company compelled him to turn him out. The lady replied that she cared nothing for the rules of the company so long as they were in violation of the laws, and that she would have him prosecuted if a hand was laid upon Smith. The conductor then said that he would put the car off the track. The lady was equal to the emergency, and replied with increased energy, that that also was a violation of the law, and she would prosecute him for a nuisance in obstructing the public highway. This ended the controversy with the good Christian lady's triumph, much to the amusement of the other passengers in the cars, not one of whom objected to the company of Stephen Smith."—*Philadelphia Press.*

THE HONORED OF THOMAS CARLYLE.—*Two men I honor, and no third.* First, the toil-worn craftsman, that with earth-made implement laboriously conquers and makes her man's. Venerable to me is the hard hand—crooked, coarse—wherein, notwithstanding, lies a cunning virtue, indefeasibly royal, as of the sceptre of this planet. Venerable too is the rugged face, all weather-tanned, besoiled with its rude intelligence; for it is the face of a man living manlike. Oh! but the more venerable for thy rudeness, even because we must pity as well as love thee! Hardly entreated brother! For us was thy back so bent; for us were thy straight limbs and fingers so deformed; thou wert our conscript, on whom the lot fell, and, fighting our battles, wert so marred. For in thee, too, lay a God-created form, but it was not to be unfolded; encrusted must it stand with the thick adhesions and defacements of labor, and thy body was not to know freedom. Yet toil on, toil on; *thou* art in thy duty, be out of it who may; thou toilest for the altogether indispensable—for daily bread.

A second man I honor, and still more highly: him who is seen toiling for the spiritually indispensable, not daily bread, but the bread of life. Is not he, too, in his duty, endeavoring towards inward harmony, revealing this, by act or by word, through all his outward endeavors, be they high or low—highest of all, when his outward and his inward endeavors, are one—when we can name him artist; not earthly craftsman only, but inspired thinker, who, with heaven-made implements, conquers heaven for us! If the poor and humble toil that we have food, must not the high and glorious toil for him in return, that he have light, have guidance, freedom, immortality? These two, in all their degrees, I honor; all else is chaff and dust, which let the wind blow whither it listeth. Unspeakably touching, however, is it, when I find both dignities united; and he that must toil outwardly for the lowest of man's wants is also toiling inwardly for the highest. Sublimer in this world know I nothing than a peasant saint, could such now anywhere be met with.

ART-LIFE UNDER THE REBELLION.—An English correspondent, who has resided in the South during the war, gives us a shocking account of the straits to which he was reduced. As he would take no part in the contest, and as he could not pursue his usual avocation, he endeavored to gain a livelihood by giving lessons in drawing. For these there was no great demand. Payment was made, not in coin, but in kind. A piece of bacon and a pint of beans were given in return for a lesson. During three years he did not receive a single piece of coin. Since the fall of Richmond things have not improved: "The Confederate currency has vanished, leaving nothing to take its place."—*London Reader.*

DESTRUCTION OF AN ANCIENT RECORD.—The London *Reader* says: "We have just learned the particulars of a sad act of vandalism on the part of a French General.